

# THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.—No. LXXI.—NEW SERIES.

NOVEMBER 1, 1851.

PRICE 5d.

## OPERATION OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.

Our readers will not fail to have observed, from the record we have made of the various cases which have arisen under this obnoxious enactment, that each successive case has either brought out some new enormity, or has been accompanied by circumstances tending to show that it can only be carried into execution at the sacrifice of law and order, and even of life itself. The people of the free States feel deeply the injury which has been inflicted upon them, by making them parties to the execution of the law, and are general in its denunciation. In one case which we have recorded, it will be seen they looked coolly on as spectators, whilst an alarming affray was proceeding, without evincing the least disposition to maintain order. But a more serious feature, in the character of the opposition offered, appears in a late case at Syracuse, where not only did the people assemble by hundreds, but the bells of the various churches were tolled, in order to spread the alarm. In addition, and above all, the military companies, which were ordered out by the sheriff to get under arms, when they learnt the object for which their services were required, refused to lend their aid. Where all this is to end, it is difficult to say—there exists a large amount of anxiety on the subject. But in the midst of this excitement, several Conventions have been held in various States, at which the most determined opposition has been offered to the Bill; and it is expected, that the forthcoming elections of the high officers of State will be greatly influenced thereby.

### SLAVE-CATCHING IN SYRACUSE—INTENSE EXCITEMENT—REFUSAL OF THE MILITARY TO INTERFERE.

Syracuse, October 1st, 1851.

Our city (says the correspondent of the *New York Tribune*) is perfectly wild with excitement. A negro man named Jerry was arrested here to-day, claimed by a man named McHenry, of Missouri, as a fugitive slave. The United States Marshal with aids from the neighbouring cities congregated here, arrested Jerry, and brought him before United States Commissioner Sabine. The news spread over the city, the bells in the various churches were tolled, and the people assembled in knots at the corners of the streets. One general feeling pervaded every breast, that of disgust and abhorrence at the Fugitive Slave Law, and this its first foul offspring in Syracuse. Our county fair was being held in the city, and the farmers from the surrounding country were all here. In addition, a Liberty Party Convention was called for to-day, and I notice prominent in our streets some of the leaders of that party. The Court of Appeals is also in session here, and have had a good opportunity to witness the feeling here to-day.

The examination of Jerry, who is a fine athletic man, commenced at the commissioner's office about 2 o'clock p.m. The court room and every avenue leading to it was densely crowded. The prosecution was conducted by three lawyers, named Anderson, Loomis, and Lawrence. The defence was by Hillis, Morgan, and Sheldon. The commissioner adjourned the court for half an hour, at about half-past 2 o'clock p.m. The adjournment had no sooner been made than a band of negroes and others seized the alleged fugitive, rescued him from the custody of the officers, and rushed down Water and Genesee Streets, through Market-square, and down Water-street to Lock-street, over Lock-street bridge, where he was caught by the officers and taken back to the police-office of Justice House. Jerry was heavily handcuffed, which prevented his successful escape at this time.

In the meantime the crowd and excitement became intense; and the feeling gained on the people that the Fugitive Slave Law must not be executed in Syracuse. The military companies were ordered out by the sheriff of the county, and got under arms, and prepared for action. Only one company, however, would leave their armoury, and finally they went back, and the whole military of the city refused to aid and abet in carrying Jerry back into slavery. The commissioner resumed the examination

at about 5 p.m., at the police-office of Justice House. The crowd outside, unable to gain admittance, became more and more excited, and the "noise and confusion" frequently prevented the prosecution of the examination on the inside. Stones were thrown through the windows of the room, and the crowd exhibited other unmistakable signs that they were decidedly hostile to the Fugitive Slave Law. About 7 p.m., the crowd outside became more and more clamorous, and the stones, &c., becoming more and more frequent, the commissioner decided to adjourn the examination until to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock.

This was announced to the crowd by Mr. Hillis, counsel for the prisoner, but the excitement could not be allayed. The officers in charge of the fugitive soon found it necessary to board up the windows, and in so doing they got pretty well pelted. They next tried the effect of a few shots fired over the heads of the people, but it only increased the excitement. About 9 p.m., a desperate onslaught was made, and the doors and windows of the office broken in, the lights extinguished, and the fugitive taken from the custody of his officers, and carried away to breathe freedom and liberty in the "rural districts" of our delightful county. So Mr. Webster's prophecy proves false, and the Fugitive Slave Law cannot be executed in Syracuse. The agent of the claimant at the final rescue jumped from the window of the police-office, on the heel-path of the canal (or into the canal, I don't know which), where he was caught by the crowd; but he claimed to be a line-boat passenger, and the crowd believed the story and let him go. A barrel of tar and a bag of feathers had been provided for his accommodation, and were within convenient distance, but he escaped them by his dexterous subterfuge. I understand the Marshal from Rochester had his arm broken in the *mêlée* at the last escape, and rumour is busy reporting other injuries, none, however, of a serious nature, and I have no faith in any of the reports. Some two or three persons fell from an awning into a cellar-way, and were somewhat injured. The appearance of the police-office is rather dejected, and looks as if it had stood a pretty hard fire. The general sentiment was and is against the law and its execution; and one general congratulation is passing round the streets, and from mouth to mouth, at this final issue of the attempt to kidnap a human being in the "Central City" of the Empire State.

Syracuse, Oct. 2.

That part of our city immediately surrounding the police-office appears as if it had just been evacuated by a retreating army. The building itself bears unmistakable evidence of the fury and sincerity of those who were engaged in the rescue of the fugitive slave, Jerry, last evening. I wrote to you, and sent by the night express train, as good an account of the conflict as I could gather amid the intense excitement and uproar. The particulars, as I sent them to you then, do not vary at all from the facts as they were. The Deputy-Marshal Fitch, from Rochester, had his arm broken in jumping from the police-office to the ground. Some of the accounts have it, that he received a blow from some of the assailants, by which his arm was broken. This is an entire mistake. He broke his arm himself, in his endeavour to get out of the way of the crowd. One other man, a citizen of Syracuse, named Woodruff, who had been employed to assist in securing the prisoner, received a blow on the head, which did it some damage. No violence was used by the crowd. It had none of the characteristics of a mob. It was one universal, unflinching current against the Fugitive Slave Law, and in favour of the poor man claimed as a fugitive. The feeling could not be resisted. The crowd, as if moved by one impulse, effected the rescue of Jerry, as completely, and as successfully, as it could be done. A heavy plank was brought against the doors of the police-office, which, bolted, barred and secured as they were, soon yielded to the tremendous pressure. The crowd then flocked into the office, extinguished the lights, and with the same plank battered down an inside partition, which let them into the room where sat the poor fugitive, heavily chained and handcuffed, and surrounded by officers and Deputy Marshals. He was taken up on the shoulders of the crowd, and, amid the most deafening hurrahs and shouts, was borne along Water Street to Salina, and down Salina to the Railroad depôt, through the depôt to Warren, down Warren to Brintnall's Hotel, where he was placed in a carriage and driven rapidly away.



The chief movers in the crowd appeared to be negroes, although no one could be recognised in the darkness of the night, and amid the excitement and whirl of the occasion. No one was foremost in the rescue, and no one did it, and I have seen no one of our citizens this morning so unfortunate in his opinions as to condemn the act. Indeed, congratulatory remarks and smiles prevail on every countenance. No sooner do two persons meet than one begins to grin, and the other to say, "Where's Jerry?" The one strong sentiment in the heart of the whole city is, that the slave-law is wrong. Mr. Webster was unfortunate in his threat, and the legal officers have been still more unfortunate in their attempt to carry it out, at this time. It is doubtful if they will not always be alike unfortunate to do the same thing in this city. The little paper printed here, called the *Star*, is furious upon the occasion, but its voice is like unto that of the dog barking at the moon. There is not a corporal's guard in the whole city taking sides with it. The agent of the claimant (whose name is James Lear) was arrested on a warrant issued by Justice House, on the charge of attempting to kidnap a citizen. He was held to bail. He will (if he can be found, which is doubtful) be arrested again this afternoon for carrying arms concealed upon his person. The name of the claimant of poor Jerry is John McReynolds, of Marion County, Mo. With regard to the firing, some conflicting statements have appeared. The first firing was by the officers from the police-office, and was without doubt intended to intimidate the crowd. It, however, had the contrary effect, and was answered by a renewed and more extensive volley of brickbats, and the crowd only became more furious. After this some more firing was done from the office, and returned by some member of the crowd.

The President of the United States has issued a proclamation in reference to the affray, asserting in the strongest terms the intention of the Government to pursue those who took a prominent part in the rescue. It is said that some arrests have taken place, but it will be difficult, where so large a number of the resident population openly sympathise with the fugitive, to obtain a conviction.

The number of arrests which continue to be made is not at all diminished; whilst the circumstances attendant thereupon, are of the most exciting character. The following amongst other cases appears in our current files:—

#### FUGITIVE SLAVE ARREST AT BUFFALO.

Buffalo, Oct. 1st.—Deputy Marshal George B. Gates, of the Northern District, arrested at a negro hut near Jamestown, in Chataque county, an alleged fugitive slave named Harrison, and brought him to this city this morning, via Dunkirk, under a strong guard and handcuffed, to Constable Harrison, so as to make a rescue the more difficult. The coloured population were a good deal excited, and followed the officers with their victim, in great crowds, from the boat to the gaol, where he now is. The claimant's name is Dr. Payson, of Hardy county, Va. Harrison left there, with seven other fugitives, in January last. Two of the party returned about six weeks ago for their wives, and were arrested, and then exposed the whereabouts of their companions. This information resulted in Harrison's arrest. The officers had warrants for three other fugitives who were in Jamestown, but they escaped into Canada. Messrs. Talcott and Loramell appear as counsel for the fugitives, and Haven and Smith for the claimants.

A later account says,—Harrison, the fugitive slave claimed by N. D. Payson, of Va., was, after a brief examination before Commissioner Smith, remanded to his owner.—Warrants have been issued for several other fugitives, but they have not been, nor are they likely to be arrested.

#### THE PHILADELPHIA CASE.

In our last we gave an account of the tragical circumstances connected with this case. Since then, several additional statements have appeared, which go to show that the coloured people received the shots of their pursuers before they made any forcible resistance. The Boston *Commonwealth* has the following pertinent remarks on the case:—

"The horrible event of the killing of Gorsuch and his son, while pursuing their slaves under the cover of this odious and abominable bill, is one of the legitimate and expected fruits to be reaped by those who recommended, and those who assisted in forcing so monstrous a measure upon an unwilling people. It will never be forgotten that this bill established courts as unconstitutional as any courts of High Commission or of Star Chamber in England, and as cruel and inhuman in their action as any Inquisition in Spain. Not all the conservative clamour in the world can overbear the recollection, that this bill was passed by a log-rolling coalition of office-seekers and office-holders, cheered on by men whose only wish was to cultivate private interests, and who for that object stifled debate, and hurried through the forms of legislation a measure abolishing the trial by jury, without either allowing any time for discussion in Congress, or for the voice of the people without the walls of the Capitol to reach their misrepresentatives within it.

"That such homicides as that of Gorsuch and his son would be, and

must be committed under the working of this Fugitive Slave Bill, was foreseen from the very beginning, and they must inevitably occur, so long as that bill shall remain in force. We shall not attempt to justify them. We lament and deplore, as much as any one can do, this uncalled-for loss of human life. But we declare that those who are responsible for it are Webster and Fillmore, and Mason and Clay, and Foote and Samuel A. Elliott, and the others that voted for this abominable bill. Upon their heads lies the blood of the Gorsuches. How can it be otherwise, in a country like ours, but that the attempt to deprive of liberty and to enforce slavery in the free States, without the charge of any crime, without the intervention of any jury, should be resisted unto the death? Every boy, in every public school, and even coloured boys, from early infancy, are taught to declaim in favour of liberty, and to love it and respect it, as their dearest possession.

"This terrible tragedy in Pennsylvania ought to restore to his senses every man so misled as ever to have justified, as constitutional and lawful, this most fatal enactment. What has happened in Pennsylvania, may happen at our own doors to-morrow. Indeed, it must in time occur in every free State in the Union, if this Fugitive Slave Bill be not repealed."

The Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court have found true bills for high treason against four white men and twenty-seven of the coloured men brought down from Christiana. Only one escaped by an ignore of the bill—George Wells, a coloured man.

#### TRIAL OF BENJAMIN RUST FOR ASSAULTING THE FUGITIVE DANIEL.

Our readers will remember the circumstances connected with the arrest of this unfortunate man. The following are the particulars of the trial for the assault, from which it will be seen that, although the blow inflicted was of the most serious character, the most trifling punishment was inflicted:—

The trial—so called—of Benjamin Rust, the slave-catcher, for striking down an unarmed man, with a blow that rendered him senseless and caused him to fall into a fire by which he was severely burned, has just been concluded before Justice Gold, at Buffalo. It was clearly proved on the trial, that Rust went to the wood chest, from which he selected, according to the witnesses, "a large stick" of beech wood, which he weighed in his hand, and finding it not deadly enough for a coward's weapon, threw it away, and selected a larger and heavier one. He then went to the hatchway leading to the kitchen, from which he expected Davis to emerge, and there knelt down on one knee, over the hatch, in such a position that his victim's back should be towards him as he came up. Here, poising the weapon in both hands, and measuring its sweep so as to give effect to the blow, the dastard waited until poor Daniel's head appeared above deck, when (a witness testifies) "the defendant raised his stick in both hands, thus, [raising his hands above his head] and struck him with all his force. He struck him once and Daniel fell, falling down on the hot stove, where he lay as dead." After being "dragged off the stove," he came too a little and lay "squawking and breathing hard," until handcuffed and taken into custody.

A large number of witnesses testified to every detail of this sickening atrocity. And in defence, there was put in no denial of the slightest incident—the evidence was all admitted unblushingly—and attempted to be justified on the ground, that "Rust was acting under a legal power of attorney!"

In course of arguing the point, whether the State seal of Kentucky stamped, instead of being affixed in wax, rendered the documents illegal, the Court (meaning Police-Justice Gold) said, that "in an examination of this case, where the object is to see if any crime has been committed, the utmost latitude should be allowed. Had he been sitting as commissioner, his opinion would have been very different, but for the purposes of this examination he ruled that the papers might be admitted."

Mr. Love followed, urging the objections that had been raised. He believed the decision of the commissioner a most flagrant one. He urged that the Court should respect the Supreme Court of the State, and take its decisions before those of any one man.

The Court thought that as a Police-Justice he ought not to overturn the decision of a United States officer.

The Court pronounced that the defendant was guilty of assault and battery, without intent to kill, and fined him in the sum of fifty dollars!

The Buffalo *Express*, in which we find these particulars, says justly, in view of the enormity of the offence, and the circumstances attending it, "this sentence is trifling with the laws and the rights of the people."

The *Voice of the Fugitive*, published in Canada West, gives the following interesting item:—

"Daniel appeared at the Toronto Convention. He did not show any symptoms there of a wish to return to a slave State. His bandaged head and general appearance gave sufficient evidence of the ill-treatment to which he had been subjected; and we are glad that he is now beyond the reach of slave-hunting inhumanity."



EMIGRATION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR  
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Increasing attention is being given to this subject by various parties in the United States, but on widely different grounds. Some, from intense prejudice, would have them leave their native soil, and all its associations, without a thought as to their future destiny. The State of Virginia, for instance, lately held a Convention for a change in her constitution, and the delegates passed a law to the effect that, after the expiration of twelve months, every free coloured man found in the State should be sold for a slave. The consequence will be that a large number, say, fifty thousand, will have to remove to the free States for shelter and for succour, or seek a home in another country. The State of Delaware, at its last session, passed a law providing that any free coloured person dwelling therein who shall leave the State, and after an absence of sixty days shall return, shall be liable to a fine of fifty dollars, and if the fine is not paid, shall be sold for a slave out of the State,—that is, in effect, for life. This law has already been put in execution. And these are not the only States which have adopted this cruel and unrighteous course. Others think that, by remaining in the States, with so many obstacles in the way of advancement, is the way to perpetuate their present abject condition, and therefore advise, without any reference to country or place, their voluntary emigration. And others, on the ground of the want of labour in the British colonies, offer inducements to secure their removal.

At the Liberty Party Convention, held at Buffalo, on the 17th of September last, when the subject of emigration came up for consideration, there were present gentlemen advocating different views of this important subject, amongst whom was the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, whose opinions are set forth in the report which we now give.

## EMIGRATION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

Resolved, "That the home of the free black man is most emphatically where his black brother is still held as a slave; that there his presence is indispensable to comfort and cheer and to encourage the oppressed, and to expose and shame and terrify the oppressor; and hence the invincible resolution of every stout-hearted and stout-handed black man of the land should be, never to leave it until his brethren in bonds are also permitted to leave it; and, furthermore, that neither he nor they should leave it but when they shall please, and for where they shall please."

Mr. ANDERSON remarked: I deem myself very fortunate in having the privilege of appearing before you, when a resolution like the present is proposed for your adoption; and the more so from the fact that the tendency of my remarks will be to controvert the views stated therein. I shall confine my remarks to the island of Jamaica, the place of my residence, and they will tend to support what may be called a counter-resolution, to the following import: "The home of the coloured man is emphatically the place in which he can train his children virtuously, and prosecute without hindrance any branch of industry he may be pleased to select, and where he may most surely and speedily obtain the legitimate rewards of his industry amongst his fellows, according to merits, and where the Government will insure to him, in his home, adequate protection to all his rights and privileges as a man." I lay down this proposition, being under the conviction that in the several States of America, the coloured man is, at present, oppressed by the existing Government, aided by the general prejudice which has hitherto proved inveterate. What I have to propose to-night for consideration is, that there is a home for the fugitive, and for every coloured man, in the island of Jamaica, which is distant from the port of New York only 1200 miles; and I will proceed to give the reason why that is a preferable asylum to any portion of the American continent, including Canada, which he can select. Jamaica belongs to the British Government. It is a land in which the Protestant religion prevails, and where perpetual summer reigns. The earth yields her increase from January to December. The population of the island consists almost entirely of coloured persons, there being about 369,000 coloured inhabitants, and only about 16,000 whites, and therefore may be considered a coloured community. Now what is the situation of this coloured community? The whites may be supposed to be dominant. But beyond that predominance which is inherent to wealth and general intelligence in every community, the white portion of the community have no superiority whatever over the coloured race. The legislation which applies to one applies to all, and deals justice with equal hand. We find there that the coloured man is in no respect in an inferior position, and we find no inconvenience in the coloured man's being precisely on the same footing with ourselves. That his rights are completely recognised and protected, you will readily perceive and believe, when a considerable portion of our Legislature consists of coloured persons, and there is an approaching struggle as to whether or not the coloured party may be able to lead the affairs of the country. In addition to this, there

is almost universal suffrage, every man being entitled to vote who has a freehold of six pounds a year. The learned professions have their most remarkable ornaments from the coloured classes. Our bar is a very small one, but I may truly say that the coloured barristers are at the very top of it, and were I called upon to name its most brilliant members, I should point to two coloured gentlemen, who are every way worthy of the position I assign to them. In the medical profession are coloured men, who have been educated in England and Scotland, and who are trusted implicitly in the most difficult cases, and are no way inferior to their white practitioners. Such a statement of facts will be considered of some value, since such progress as these facts indicate has all been accomplished since the abolition of slavery in that island. Our experience has confirmed the truth that the coloured man is capable of rising to the highest posts in society, and of retaining his position there, as well as any person of European extraction. And such confirmation ought to work a change of feeling in this country towards that class which has been cruelly oppressed both by the legislation and the strong prejudice which has hitherto prevailed throughout the States of the Union. Now, on this account I consider Jamaica offers a favourable home for those of the coloured classes who deem a change of home desirable. It is not for me to advise them whether it is desirable to change their home or not, as that is a matter which a man can best discuss in his own family. But it seems to me, that when a man has liberty to train his children up in independence, with the world fairly before him, and every station of honourable ambition open to him, that that position is far more favourable to him than where a boundary is set to the positions which his children may hope to attain. Again, as a field for industry, I think it would be very difficult to present a better one to the honest and industrious coloured man than the island of Jamaica, even when placed in competition with the United States. The country and climate of Jamaica is peculiarly his own, more so than the rigorous countries of the north, and it does appear to me that our Creator did not intend the rigorous countries of the north to be inhabited by the coloured man. Medical advisers assure me that the coloured race would undoubtedly live much better, and attain a greater degree of vigour and usefulness in a climate so exceedingly fitted for them as these islands within the tropics. For farming purposes, this island is not surpassed, as perpetual summer reigns, and it is intersected so extensively by streams, that it has got the name of the "Island of Springs." Though its soil is exceedingly fertile and its productions varied and valuable, yet hitherto agricultural enterprise has been directed in scarcely any other direction than the raising of sugar and coffee; and if the cultivation of these articles were all that the British West Indies offered to the coloured population of America, I, for one, would not advise them to go there. But it is not all. For every description of farming, it offers the most eligible field to be found on the face of the earth. The island is equally well suited to the raising of corn, wheat, potatoes and flax. The culture of these articles, as well as of sugar and coffee, is open to the moderate farmer and men of small means. The culture of coffee requires not much attention, and every member of a labourer's family can be employed in it. Besides these articles are raised—ginger, a very valuable product of the soil, arrow root, tapioca, plantain, &c. There is a very great variety of fruits; the orange in profuse abundance, with the pine-apple and the melon, and even the fig-tree. The products of the island are diversified in so great a degree and so easily cultivated, that any person with the most moderate industry is able to have for himself, one of the most richly furnished tables that any one can desire.—And, furthermore, there is hardly one of the productions which I have mentioned, which does not find a ready market. And perhaps I may be justified in saying that the greatest hindrance that our population has to meet with, is the exceeding ease and facility with which a family may be supported out of the soil. During the existence of slavery, the slave was obliged to support himself and family, and in order to procure this support, he was allowed one day in the week for the cultivation of his piece of land. And if he was able to do this during the continuance of slavery, what may he not now hope to accomplish with the whole of his time at his disposal? I do give it as my deliberate conviction, that there is no spot on the habitable world, where the coloured man, with ordinary sobriety and industry, can gather about him so great an amount of comfort, and ultimately of wealth, as he can, were he to settle in this island of Jamaica; and if his children do not rise in the career of honourable ambition, it must be their own fault, either because they are lacking in industry or in perseverance, which ensure progress in every well-ordered community. I can imagine no object more worthy of attention than to build up such a country, almost within the immediate vicinity of the United States, in wealth, in glory, and in power—a country where his moral influence will tell with tenfold more weight than he can expect it ever will in the United States, where he is so lamentably trodden down and excluded from the enjoyment of his natural rights. This island is also available for every description of mechanical enterprise. There are rivers and streams through the length and breadth of the land, and there are mills in numberless cases entirely abandoned, and falling to pieces for want of occupation, and which are available for the lowest considerable price; and to any one desirous of entering upon manufacturing business, it is



The chief movers in the crowd appeared to be negroes, although no one could be recognised in the darkness of the night, and amid the excitement and whirl of the occasion. No one was foremost in the rescue, and no one did it, and I have seen no one of our citizens this morning so unfortunate in his opinions as to condemn the act. Indeed, congratulatory remarks and smiles prevail on every countenance. No sooner do two persons meet than one begins to grin, and the other to say, "Where's Jerry?" The one strong sentiment in the heart of the whole city is, that the slave-law is wrong. Mr. Webster was unfortunate in his threat, and the legal officers have been still more unfortunate in their attempt to carry it out, at this time. It is doubtful if they will not always be alike unfortunate to do the same thing in this city. The little paper printed here, called the *Star*, is furious upon the occasion, but its voice is like unto that of the dog barking at the moon. There is not a corporal's guard in the whole city taking sides with it. The agent of the claimant (whose name is James Lear) was arrested on a warrant issued by Justice House, on the charge of attempting to kidnap a citizen. He was held to bail. He will (if he can be found, which is doubtful) be arrested again this afternoon for carrying arms concealed upon his person. The name of the claimant of poor Jerry is John McReynolds, of Marion County, Mo. With regard to the firing, some conflicting statements have appeared. The first firing was by the officers from the police-office, and was without doubt intended to intimidate the crowd. It, however, had the contrary effect, and was answered by a renewed and more extensive volley of brickbats, and the crowd only became more furious. After this some more firing was done from the office, and returned by some member of the crowd.

The President of the United States has issued a proclamation in reference to the affray, asserting in the strongest terms the intention of the Government to pursue those who took a prominent part in the rescue. It is said that some arrests have taken place, but it will be difficult, where so large a number of the resident population openly sympathise with the fugitive, to obtain a conviction.

The number of arrests which continue to be made is not at all diminished; whilst the circumstances attendant thereupon, are of the most exciting character. The following amongst other cases appears in our current files:—

#### FUGITIVE SLAVE ARREST AT BUFFALO.

Buffalo, Oct. 1st.—Deputy Marshal George B. Gates, of the Northern District, arrested at a negro hut near Jamestown, in Chataque county, an alleged fugitive slave named Harrison, and brought him to this city this morning, via Dunkirk, under a strong guard and handcuffed, to Constable Harrison, so as to make a rescue the more difficult. The coloured population were a good deal excited, and followed the officers with their victim, in great crowds, from the boat to the gaol, where he now is. The claimant's name is Dr. Payson, of Hardy county, Va. Harrison left there, with seven other fugitives, in January last. Two of the party returned about six weeks ago for their wives, and were arrested, and then exposed the whereabouts of their companions. This information resulted in Harrison's arrest. The officers had warrants for three other fugitives who were in Jamestown, but they escaped into Canada. Messrs. Talcott and Loramell appear as counsel for the fugitives, and Haven and Smith for the claimants.

A later account says,—Harrison, the fugitive slave claimed by N. D. Payson, of Va., was, after a brief examination before Commissioner Smith, remanded to his owner.—Warrants have been issued for several other fugitives, but they have not been, nor are they likely to be arrested.

#### THE PHILADELPHIA CASE.

In our last we gave an account of the tragical circumstances connected with this case. Since then, several additional statements have appeared, which go to show that the coloured people received the shots of their pursuers before they made any forcible resistance. The Boston *Commonwealth* has the following pertinent remarks on the case:—

"The horrible event of the killing of Gorsuch and his son, while pursuing their slaves under the cover of this odious and abominable bill, is one of the legitimate and expected fruits to be reaped by those who recommended, and those who assisted in forcing so monstrous a measure upon an unwilling people. It will never be forgotten that this bill established courts as unconstitutional as any courts of High Commission or of Star Chamber in England, and as cruel and inhuman in their action as any Inquisition in Spain. Not all the conservative clamour in the world can overbear the recollection, that this bill was passed by a log-rolling coalition of office-seekers and office-holders, cheered on by men whose only wish was to cultivate private interests, and who for that object stifled debate, and hurried through the forms of legislation a measure abolishing the trial by jury, without either allowing any time for discussion in Congress, or for the voice of the people without the walls of the Capitol to reach their misrepresentatives within it.

"That such homicides as that of Gorsuch and his son would be, and

must be committed under the working of this Fugitive Slave Bill, was foreseen from the very beginning, and they must inevitably occur, so long as that bill shall remain in force. We shall not attempt to justify them. We lament and deplore, as much as any one can do, this uncalled-for loss of human life. But we declare that those who are responsible for it are Webster and Fillmore, and Mason and Clay, and Foote and Samuel A. Elliott, and the others that voted for this abominable bill. Upon their heads lies the blood of the Gorsuchs. How can it be otherwise, in a country like ours, but that the attempt to deprive of liberty and to enforce slavery in the free States, without the charge of any crime, without the intervention of any jury, should be resisted unto the death? Every boy, in every public school, and even coloured boys, from early infancy, are taught to declaim in favour of liberty, and to love it and respect it, as their dearest possession.

"This terrible tragedy in Pennsylvania ought to restore to his senses every man so misled as ever to have justified, as constitutional and lawful, this most fatal enactment. What has happened in Pennsylvania, may happen at our own doors to-morrow. Indeed, it must in time occur in every free State in the Union, if this Fugitive Slave Bill be not repealed."

The Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court have found true bills for high treason against four white men and twenty-seven of the coloured men brought down from Christiana. Only one escaped by an ignore of the bill—George Wells, a coloured man.

#### TRIAL OF BENJAMIN RUST FOR ASSAULTING THE FUGITIVE DANIEL.

Our readers will remember the circumstances connected with the arrest of this unfortunate man. The following are the particulars of the trial for the assault, from which it will be seen that, although the blow inflicted was of the most serious character, the most trifling punishment was inflicted:—

The trial—so called—of Benjamin Rust, the slave-catcher, for striking down an unarmed man, with a blow that rendered him senseless and caused him to fall into a fire by which he was severely burned, has just been concluded before Justice Gold, at Buffalo. It was clearly proved on the trial, that Rust went to the wood chest, from which he selected, according to the witnesses, "a large stick" of beech wood, which he weighed in his hand, and finding it not deadly enough for a coward's weapon, threw it away, and selected a larger and heavier one. He then went to the hatchway leading to the kitchen, from which he expected Davis to emerge, and there knelt down on one knee, over the hatch, in such a position that his victim's back should be towards him as he came up. Here, poising the weapon in both hands, and measuring its sweep so as to give effect to the blow, the dastard waited until poor Daniel's head appeared above deck, when (a witness testifies) "the defendant raised his stick in both hands, thus, [raising his hands above his head] and struck him with all his force. He struck him once and Daniel fell, falling down on the hot stove, where he lay as dead." After being "dragged off the stove," he came too a little and lay "squawking and breathing hard," until handcuffed and taken into custody.

A large number of witnesses testified to every detail of this sickening atrocity. And in defence, there was put in no denial of the slightest incident—the evidence was all admitted unblushingly—and attempted to be justified on the ground, that "Rust was acting under a legal power of attorney!"

In course of arguing the point, whether the State seal of Kentucky stamped, instead of being affixed in wax, rendered the documents illegal, the Court (meaning Police-Justice Gold) said, that "in an examination of this case, where the object is to see if any crime has been committed, the utmost latitude should be allowed. Had he been sitting as commissioner, his opinion would have been very different, but for the purposes of this examination he ruled that the papers might be admitted."

Mr. Love followed, urging the objections that had been raised. He believed the decision of the commissioner a most flagrant one. He urged that the Court should respect the Supreme Court of the State, and take its decisions before those of any one man.

The Court thought that as a Police-Justice he ought not to overturn the decision of a United States officer.

The Court pronounced that the defendant was guilty of assault and battery, without intent to kill, and fined him in the sum of fifty dollars!

The Buffalo *Express*, in which we find these particulars, says justly, in view of the enormity of the offence, and the circumstances attending it, "this sentence is trifling with the laws and the rights of the people."

The *Voice of the Fugitive*, published in Canada West, gives the following interesting item:—

"Daniel appeared at the Toronto Convention. He did not show any symptoms there of a wish to return to a slave State. His bandaged head and general appearance gave sufficient evidence of the ill-treatment to which he had been subjected; and we are glad that he is now beyond the reach of slave-hunting inhumanity."



EMIGRATION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR  
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Increasing attention is being given to this subject by various parties in the United States, but on widely different grounds. Some, from intense prejudice, would have them leave their native soil, and all its associations, without a thought as to their future destiny. The State of Virginia, for instance, lately held a Convention for a change in her constitution, and the delegates passed a law to the effect that, after the expiration of twelve months, every free coloured man found in the State should be sold for a slave. The consequence will be that a large number, say, fifty thousand, will have to remove to the free States for shelter and for succour, or seek a home in another country. The State of Delaware, at its last session, passed a law providing that any free coloured person dwelling therein who shall leave the State, and after an absence of sixty days shall return, shall be liable to a fine of fifty dollars, and if the fine is not paid, shall be sold for a slave out of the State,—that is, in effect, for life. This law has already been put in execution. And these are not the only States which have adopted this cruel and unrighteous course. Others think that, by remaining in the States, with so many obstacles in the way of advancement, is the way to perpetuate their present abject condition, and therefore advise, without any reference to country or place, their voluntary emigration. And others, on the ground of the want of labour in the British colonies, offer inducements to secure their removal.

At the Liberty Party Convention, held at Buffalo, on the 17th of September last, when the subject of emigration came up for consideration, there were present gentlemen advocating different views of this important subject, amongst whom was the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, whose opinions are set forth in the report which we now give.

## EMIGRATION OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

Resolved, "That the home of the free black man is most emphatically where his black brother is still held as a slave; that there his presence is indispensable to comfort and cheer and to encourage the oppressed, and to expose and shame and terrify the oppressor; and hence the invincible resolution of every stout-hearted and stout-handed black man of the land should be, never to leave it until his brethren in bonds are also permitted to leave it; and, furthermore, that neither he nor they should leave it but when they shall please, and for where they shall please."

MR. ANDERSON remarked: I deem myself very fortunate in having the privilege of appearing before you, when a resolution like the present is proposed for your adoption; and the more so from the fact that the tendency of my remarks will be to controvert the views stated therein. I shall confine my remarks to the island of Jamaica, the place of my residence, and they will tend to support what may be called a counter-resolution, to the following import: "The home of the coloured man is emphatically the place in which he can train his children virtuously, and prosecute without hindrance any branch of industry he may be pleased to select, and where he may most surely and speedily obtain the legitimate rewards of his industry amongst his fellows, according to merits, and where the Government will insure to him, in his home, adequate protection to all his rights and privileges as a man." I lay down this proposition, being under the conviction that in the several States of America, the coloured man is, at present, oppressed by the existing Government, aided by the general prejudice which has hitherto proved inveterate. What I have to propose to-night for consideration is, that there is a home for the fugitive, and for every coloured man, in the island of Jamaica, which is distant from the port of New York only 1200 miles; and I will proceed to give the reason why that is a preferable asylum to any portion of the American continent, including Canada, which he can select. Jamaica belongs to the British Government. It is a land in which the Protestant religion prevails, and where perpetual summer reigns. The earth yields her increase from January to December. The population of the island consists almost entirely of coloured persons, there being about 369,000 coloured inhabitants, and only about 16,000 whites, and therefore may be considered a coloured community. Now what is the situation of this coloured community? The whites may be supposed to be dominant. But beyond that predominance which is inherent to wealth and general intelligence in every community, the white portion of the community have no superiority whatever over the coloured race. The legislation which applies to one applies to all, and deals justice with equal hand. We find there that the coloured man is in no respect in an inferior position, and we find no inconvenience in the coloured man's being precisely on the same footing with ourselves. That his rights are completely recognised and protected, you will readily perceive and believe, when a considerable portion of our Legislature consists of coloured persons, and there is an approaching struggle as to whether or not the coloured party may be able to lead the affairs of the country. In addition to this, there

is almost universal suffrage, every man being entitled to vote who has a freehold of six pounds a year. The learned professions have their most remarkable ornaments from the coloured classes. Our bar is a very small one, but I may truly say that the coloured barristers are at the very top of it, and were I called upon to name its most brilliant members, I should point to two coloured gentlemen, who are every way worthy of the position I assign to them. In the medical profession are coloured men, who have been educated in England and Scotland, and who are trusted implicitly in the most difficult cases, and are no way inferior to their white practitioners. Such a statement of facts will be considered of some value, since such progress as these facts indicate has all been accomplished since the abolition of slavery in that island. Our experience has confirmed the truth that the coloured man is capable of rising to the highest posts in society, and of retaining his position there, as well as any person of European extraction. And such confirmation ought to work a change of feeling in this country towards that class which has been cruelly oppressed both by the legislation and the strong prejudice which has hitherto prevailed throughout the States of the Union. Now, on this account I consider Jamaica offers a favourable home for those of the coloured classes who deem a change of home desirable. It is not for me to advise them whether it is desirable to change their home or not, as that is a matter which a man can best discuss in his own family. But it seems to me, that when a man has liberty to train his children up in independence, with the world fairly before him, and every station of honourable ambition open to him, that that position is far more favourable to him than where a boundary is set to the positions which his children may hope to attain. Again, as a field for industry, I think it would be very difficult to present a better one to the honest and industrious coloured man than the island of Jamaica, even when placed in competition with the United States. The country and climate of Jamaica is peculiarly his own, more so than the rigorous countries of the north, and it does appear to me that our Creator did not intend the rigorous countries of the north to be inhabited by the coloured man. Medical advisers assure me that the coloured race would undoubtedly live much better, and attain a greater degree of vigour and usefulness in a climate so exceedingly fitted for them as these islands within the tropics. For farming purposes, this island is not surpassed, as perpetual summer reigns, and it is intersected so extensively by streams, that it has got the name of the "Island of Springs." Though its soil is exceedingly fertile and its productions varied and valuable, yet hitherto agricultural enterprise has been directed in scarcely any other direction than the raising of sugar and coffee; and if the cultivation of these articles were all that the British West Indies offered to the coloured population of America, I, for one, would not advise them to go there. But it is not all. For every description of farming, it offers the most eligible field to be found on the face of the earth. The island is equally well suited to the raising of corn, wheat, potatoes and flax. The culture of these articles, as well as of sugar and coffee, is open to the moderate farmer and men of small means. The culture of coffee requires not much attention, and every member of a labourer's family can be employed in it. Besides these articles are raised—ginger, a very valuable product of the soil, arrow root, tapioca, plantain, &c. There is a very great variety of fruits; the orange in profuse abundance, with the pine-apple and the melon, and even the fig-tree. The products of the island are diversified in so great a degree and so easily cultivated, that any person with the most moderate industry is able to have for himself, one of the most richly furnished tables that any one can desire.—And, furthermore, there is hardly one of the productions which I have mentioned, which does not find a ready market. And perhaps I may be justified in saying that the greatest hindrance that our population has to meet with, is the exceeding ease and facility with which a family may be supported out of the soil. During the existence of slavery, the slave was obliged to support himself and family, and in order to procure this support, he was allowed one day in the week for the cultivation of his piece of land. And if he was able to do this during the continuance of slavery, what may he not now hope to accomplish with the whole of his time at his disposal? I do give it as my deliberate conviction, that there is no spot on the habitable world, where the coloured man, with ordinary sobriety and industry, can gather about him so great an amount of comfort, and ultimately of wealth, as he can, were he to settle in this island of Jamaica; and if his children do not rise in the career of honourable ambition, it must be their own fault, either because they are lacking in industry or in perseverance, which ensure progress in every well-ordered community. I can imagine no object more worthy of attention than to build up such a country, almost within the immediate vicinity of the United States, in wealth, in glory, and in power—a country where his moral influence will tell with tenfold more weight than he can expect it ever will in the United States, where he is so lamentably trodden down and excluded from the enjoyment of his natural rights. This island is also available for every description of mechanical enterprise. There are rivers and streams through the length and breadth of the land, and there are mills in numberless cases entirely abandoned, and falling to pieces for want of occupation, and which are available for the lowest considerable price; and to any one desirous of entering upon manufacturing business, it is



impossible to conceive of circumstances more favourable for such an enterprise than those offered in this island. He would be able to obtain female labour much cheaper than here, and, indeed, no greater blessing could be bestowed upon the island than the introduction of labour proper for females, and thankful should we be for any employment that would give to woman her daily bread. But, neglected as this island is, it will not long be thus neglected. It is situated but one and a half day's sail from the Isthmus of Panama, at the very roadside of the great highway of the commerce of the whole earth—I mean the commerce of Europe and America to India and China. The time is coming when there will be a flocking to the shores of Jamaica, just as there is now to the shores of California. Now, in the season of our great depression, would I invite our friends from America to come and settle among us, and assure you that every reasonable facility will be extended unto you. Indeed, I came on a mission from the Government of that island, to inquire and report at the next session of the Legislature whether to any extent the coloured inhabitants of this continent could be induced to take up their permanent residence among us. We wish to be strengthened, to see our island cultivated and business revived, and that, too, through the coloured races from America, whom I perceive the Legislature of several of the States propose to exclude altogether from their boundaries, and, instead of diminishing the incapacities under which they have been labouring, are striving hard to increase them. Their language is, "Go out," or we will force you out. I can easily imagine that the reply of the coloured man is, "No, I am an American as well as you, and I will not go out. I and my children will occupy our possessions. I shall carry on the contest with you, though it end in our ruin and destruction." But were I a coloured man, with my family of helpless boys and girls about me, dependant upon my better and more mature judgment as to their disposal in life, it does seem to me that I should deem it my duty not to continue a struggle, the favourable result of which is in the far distance, but should consider it a Christian duty to carry my family to a country where they can be educated in a society that will offer no barriers to their progress as citizens, in virtue and high-minded independence, and where the Government under which they live will suffer no one of its subjects to be injured with impunity. I will only add, that if there be any questions which any member of this Convention, in the course of the evening, may put to me, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to answer them.

Mr. FREDERIC DOUGLASS said:—It is my purpose to occupy but a few moments of the meeting on this subject, as I know you are anxious to hear our other friend (Mr. Scoble) from England. In listening to the remarks of our friend from Jamaica, I was struck with the similarity of the reasons given by him for the emigration of coloured persons from this country, to those which are given, but with very different motives, by the agents of the American Colonisation Society—a society which ever has, and, I hope, ever will receive the utter detestation of every coloured man in the land. I know that our friend (Mr. A.) will find it difficult to appreciate the reasons which induce the free coloured people of these States to insist upon remaining here. He sees us, a suffering people, hemmed in on every side by the malignant and bitter prejudice which excludes us from nearly every profitable employment in this country, and which, as he has well said, has led several of the States to legislate for our expulsion. In the extremity of our need, he comes to us in the spirit of benevolence, I believe, and holds out to us the prospect of a better country, the prospect of a home, where none shall molest or make us afraid. And he will think it strange if we do not accept of his benevolent proffer, and welcome him in his mission of mercy and good-will towards us. And yet we must say that such a welcome cannot be given by the coloured people of this country without stabbing their own cause to the vitals, without conceding a point which every black man should feel that he must die for, rather than yield; and that is, that the prejudice and the mal-administration toward us in this country are invincible to truth, invincible to combined and virtuous effort for their overthrow. We must make no such concession. Sir, the slaveholders have long been anxious to get rid of the free coloured persons of this country. They know that where we are left free, blacks though we are, thick-skulled as they call us, we shall become intelligent; and, moreover, that as we become intelligent, in just that proportion shall we become an annoyance to them in their slaveholding. They are anxious, therefore, to get us out of the country. They know that a hundred thousand intelligent, upright, industrious, and persevering black men in the Northern States must command respect and sympathy, must encircle themselves with the regard of a large class of the virtue-loving, industry-loving people of the North, and that whatever sympathy, whatever respect they are able to command, must have a reflex influence upon slavery. And, therefore, they say, "out with them, let us get rid of them!" For my part, I am not disposed to leave, and, I think, our friend must have been struck with the singular kind of applause at certain sayings of his, during the address—an applause that seemed to come from the galleries, from the door, and from that part of the house that does not wish to be mixed up with the platform. Straws show which way the wind blows. I fancied, too, that when our friend was portraying the blessings that would result from our

removal from this land to Jamaica, that delightful visions were floating before the minds of those gentlemen in the distance. Now, Sir, I want to say, on behalf of any negroes I have the honour to represent, that we *have been with, still are with you, and mean to be with you to the end.* It may seem ungrateful, but there are some of us who are resolved that you shall not get rid of your coloured relations. Why should we not stay with you? Have we not a right here? I know the cry is raised that we are out of our native land; that this land is the land of the white man; that Africa is the home of the negro, and not America. But how stands the matter? I believe that, simultaneously with the landing of the Pilgrims, there landed slaves on the shores of this continent, and that for two hundred and thirty years and more we have had a foothold on this continent. We have grown up with you, we have watered your soil with our tears, nourished it with our blood, tilled it with our hard hands. Why should we not stay here? We came when it was a wilderness, and were the pioneers of civilisation on this continent. We levelled your forests, *our hands* removed the stumps from your fields, and raised the first crops, and brought the first produce to your tables. We have been with you, are still with you; have been with you in adversity, and, by the help of God, will be with you in prosperity. There was a time when certain learned men of this country undertook to argue us out of existence. Professor Grant, of New York, reckoned us of a race belonging to a by-gone age, which, in the progress of the human family, would become perfectly extinct. Yet we do not die. It does seem that there is a Providence in this matter. Chain us, lash us, hunt us with bloodhounds, surround us with utter insecurity, render our lives ever so hard to be borne, and yet we do live on—smile under it all, and are able to smile. Amid all our afflictions there is an invincible determination to stay right here, because a large portion of the American people desire to get rid of us. In proportion to the strength of their desire to have us go, in just that proportion is the strength of our determination to stay, and in staying we ask nothing but justice. We have fought for this country, and we only ask to be treated as well as those who fought against it. We are American citizens, and we only ask to be treated as well as you treat aliens. And you will treat us so yet. Most men assume that we cannot make progress here. It is untrue, Sir. That we can make progress in the future is proved by the progress we have already made. Our condition is rapidly improving. Sir, but a few years ago, if I attempted to ride on the railroad cars in New England, and presumed to take my seat in the cars with white persons, I was dragged out like a beast. I have often been beaten until my hands were blue with the blows in order to make me disengage those hands from the bench on which I was seated. On every railroad in New England this was the case. How is it now? Why, a negro may ride just where he pleases, and there is not the slightest objection raised; and I have very frequently rode over those same roads since, and never received the slightest indignity on account of my complexion. Indeed, the white people are becoming more and more disposed to associate with the blacks. I am constantly annoyed by their pressing attentions. I used to enjoy the privilege of an entire seat, and riding a great deal at night, it was quite an advantage to me; but some time ago, riding up from Geneva, I had curled myself up, and by the time I had got into a good snooze, along came a man and lifted up my blanket. I looked up and said, "Pray do not disturb me, I am a black man." "I don't care who the devil you are, only give me a seat," was the reply. I tell you, the white people about here are beginning "to don't care who the devil you are." If you can put a dollar in their way, or a seat under them, they don't care who the devil you are. But I will not detain you longer, I know you are anxious to hear our friend from England.

Mr. JOHN SCOBLE, of England, said he had listened with much pleasure to the discussion which had taken place on the subject of the coloured man's home. Now when I look, said he, at the history of the human race, and particularly when I view that race in the light of the sacred Scriptures, I am compelled to say that neither the United States, nor Africa, nor Jamaica, nor any particular portion of the earth, is the home of our race, but that God has given the entire world, for the entire race to dwell upon, and that "God has created of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." And although, in his wise providence, he may have circumscribed the bounds of our habitation, yet as the rights of civilisation and Christianity advance, it will be discerned that God has put no distinction between one colour and another, and has given to them the earth as a common habitation. I feel also, that whatever of distinction may exist between the coloured and the white man at the present time, must be traced, not to any natural difference which exists between them, but to circumstances which have arisen out of the pride and lust of power, and the corruption of our common nature. I do not believe, Sir, in prejudice. On the contrary, I believe that the natural state of man, in relation to his fellow-man, is that of good will, brotherly affection, and love. And I believe that the doctrine I have just now broached is as true in the esteem of pure reason, as I know it to be true from the sacred Scriptures themselves. I believe, therefore, that whatever amount of prejudice may exist, in this or any other community, against the coloured man, that that prejudice is vincible. You



have only to undersack the institution of slavery, and deliver the coloured man from the shackles on his limbs and his mind, when at once you will find that prejudice subside, and that all men will regard each other as men; and that just in proportion as the man develops the Christian, will be the regard which men of high-toned sentiment and Christian feeling will exhibit toward each other, whether white or black. Having for many years been associated with the abolitionists of Great Britain, in their struggle for the freedom of our enslaved population, whether in the West Indies, or in the East, it may, perhaps, be gratifying to some who are here present, if I dwell for a moment upon the labours and successes which have attended their efforts. It will be remembered that in the British West India colonies there were about 800,000 coloured persons to be emancipated in 1838. Well, Sir, after a long struggle, in which we had to fight the battle of freedom, inch by inch, we achieved a noble victory for humanity, for truth, and for justice. And, Sir, at this moment, whatever of depression may exist in our West India colonies, is not to be traced to emancipation, but to other causes, plain to the man of reflection and knowledge. And whatever may be the depression, it is gratifying to know that our coloured brethren have deserved all that has been bestowed upon them, and that they have improved rapidly, as a whole, in intelligence, in civilisation, and in the possession of pure religion. Previous to emancipation, they were regarded as chattels—bought and sold, and bequeathed or given away, at the will or caprice of their so-called owners. And there were scenes constantly exhibited there, such as are now witnessed in this country, of husbands separated from their wives, and parents from their children. No slave was regarded sacred from the degradations of the slave-trafficker, and man was, to all intents and purposes, a merchantable article. But when I visited those colonies after emancipation had taken place, and saw my coloured brethren and sisters around their habitations, humble though they may appear to be, and when I put to them the question, whether emancipation had conferred any benefit upon them or not, I have seen the tear frequently start into the eyes of those I addressed, and eyes lifted to heaven in grateful adoration for the blessings of emancipation. There, Sir, I have seen the woman who had been a slave, and as such, could not call her children her own, clasp those little ones to her bosom, and bless God that she could now call them her own. And the aged, too, those who were tottering on the brink of the grave, have gladdened my heart by the manner in which they stated to me what were their feelings in connection with emancipation. But not only have we emancipated the 800,000 of our fellow-creatures in the West India islands, but we have been enabled to emancipate the millions of British India. After years of research and inquiry, we estimate the number of slaves in British India, to be millions, instead of thousands, and found their condition to be but little short, in degradation and suffering, to that of the emancipated millions of the West Indies; and having achieved a glorious victory in the West Indies, the Government could not resist our call for emancipation in British India. And I am now happy to say, that in no corner of the British Empire, whether in the east or west, north or south, can you find a single man who can be treated as property by his fellow-man; and that slaves, come from what country they may, touching any portion of the soil belonging to the British Crown, or her subjects, do and must feel themselves to be freemen. Having thus detained you with some statements connected with our doings in Great Britain, permit me for a moment to touch the matter in debate. I feel, with friend Douglass, that the coloured man may claim any and every portion of the United States as his own country, and that he can claim the right to remain here, and that, in remaining here, it is the grossest injustice on the part of any portion of the people of this country to withhold from him a single right. They have dearly purchased these portions of the earth, as friend Douglass has said, by their tears, by their blood, and by their labour; and without being a prophet, or the son of a prophet, I cannot resist the conviction that a mighty development of the coloured population is to take place upon this continent. In the Brazilian empire, there are not less than three and a half millions of coloured men enslaved, a number equal to those in the United States. And seven millions of men are not easily blotted out, nor can they be easily removed from the country in which they are found. They are now upon the continent of America, and will develop themselves in still greater numbers; and depend upon it, that with the increase of civilisation they also will increase in civilisation, and will at last take their stand by the proudest of the white race, found upon this continent at the present time. If we add to these seven millions, the emancipated thousands of the British West India colonies, and of the French West India islands, and of the Danish and Swedish, and if we add the coloured population of Mexico, and the South American Republic, we shall see that God indicates to us, by his providence, that he intends to build them up a great people, and will build them up a great people, notwithstanding all the legislation of your Websters and Clays, on the American continent. Now, Mr. President, I take a broader view than either of my friends, on this question of migration and emigration. I am desirous of ascertaining, with these great facts before us, which method will ultimately afford the greatest facilities for this development of our coloured brethren. I stand here, Sir, not to sustain

any interest or opinion of my own, but believing that God intends to give to the coloured population a blessed inheritance, I feel that it is a matter of policy, as well as of duty, that they should take the map before them, and ascertain where there is likely to be the largest amount of commercial intercourse, and, without binding themselves to any particular course of action, to say, we will avail ourselves of every advantage which Providence indicates, wherever it may be, upon the face of the whole continent. I would not therefore have our friends confine themselves to the United States, or the West India islands, or Canada, but to look about them, and consider the great part they have to play in this development, and prepare themselves for it. I would not, Sir, have Mr. Douglass leave the United States. He is doing a great work among you. When I thought he was dealing in abstractions, I was not disposed to support him in our own country, but when he became practical, I was ready to give him my heart and hand, and pray that God would bless him in the work he has undertaken. There are others that have a good work to do, and I would not have them leave America, and I hope the blessing of God may rest upon them. But there are others who would do well to be pioneers of the coloured population of this continent, and therefore my counsel would be simply this,—consider your present circumstances, and the greatness which awaits you; take advantage of all providential circumstances, and place yourselves at those points where you can enjoy the largest measure of social and civil privileges, and where you can develop your resources, and put yourself in a position in which you can measure your strength and influence with the proudest races to be found upon this continent. These are my views upon the subject, and although presented in a simple and undigested form, I think there is something in them worthy of your consideration, and it is because I have considered them of some importance, that I have ventured to address you. I feel, when standing on American soil, that the people of this country ought to be the teachers of the world, in the great blessings of humanity and liberty. Though I feel that I am in a strange land, and living under a form of government that may be not so wise and so just as your own, yet when I remember that I am in the presence, not only of American citizens, but of American abolitionists, I feel myself to cease to be a stranger, and find myself at home. I believe the time is coming, when God by his providence, and through the various agencies and instrumentalities which he is now using, will break up for ever this foul system of slavery; and when that time shall come, there will not be found an American, in the east or west, the north or south, who will exult and rejoice more than myself, from the bottom of my heart. With the constitution of the United States, which proclaims this great truth, that "God has created all men free and equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," every American will feel a great burden taken from his shoulders, and the yoke from his neck. I would say to my brethren in bonds, there are millions of hearts, not only in this land, but others, beating in sympathy for you, and that the Lord will rescue you from the degradation and misery into which you are plunged. Be patient, and remember that patience is the great conqueror. The husbandman waiteth long after he casteth the precious seed into the earth, for the fruit thereof, yet the harvest cometh. The same is true of the social and moral world. God tries his servants, He tries their faith, their patience, and their courage, and though the bravest may linger, it will come, and the sheaves shall be gathered in with shouting and praise. Yes, the time is coming, when you, my brethren, shall no longer till the earth with the lash of the task-master upon your backs, when the earth shall be tilled by you in common with the whites, and when in that earth you shall find a common property, and a common means of subsistence.

Although, from being unacquainted with your mode of proceedings, I have not been able to enter fully into their spirit, I have seen enough and heard enough to convince me that there are hearts sound in this great cause, and minds capable of directing it; and with such hearts and such minds, and the Divine benediction resting upon your labours, you may be sure that your triumphs are not afar off.

The following interesting and important communication has been forwarded by the Anti-slavery Committee at Toronto, in reply to a communication of his Excellency the Governor-general of Canada, wishing to be informed whether there was any disposition on the part of the coloured people in Canada to emigrate to the United States:—

"We are not aware that there is any disposition on the part of the coloured population in Canada to emigrate to the West Indies. We have had much intercourse with them, both before and since the Fugitive Slave Bill was passed, and neither among the old residents, two of whom are members of our Committee, nor among the refugees, have we ever heard of any desire whatever to leave this country, and go to the West Indies. We have carefully examined the most authentic and recent accounts of the prospects which coloured men would have in making that change, and can see nothing which holds out to them the least encouragement to do so. The average wages of agricultural labourers in Jamaica do not exceed one



shilling sterling per day, and in none of the West India islands do they exceed one shilling and three pence, and frequently only six pence; while in some of the smaller islands wages are reduced to the miserable pittance of four pence per day. Making every allowance for the saving in expense from less clothing being required in the West Indies, and for the inconvenience sustained by some of the coloured people during the winter months in Canada, the large wages which are paid in this country, securing a proportionate amount of comfort, seem to render it desirable for them to remain in Canada. They are, generally speaking, a sober, peaceable, unobtrusive people; and considering the immense disadvantages to which they have been forcibly subjected, they are generally admirable for the independent manner in which they sustain themselves, without being a burden to the public. Very few, if any, have ever been on sugar plantations; and, of course, know nothing of the labour needed thereon. . . .

"We have read with sincere regret the memorandum of Mr. Hawes, the Under Colonial Secretary, addressed to David Turnbull, Esq., and dated 14th of August, 1850. In that document it is proposed to induce the black and coloured population of the United States to emigrate in large numbers to the West Indies. It is stated, that in the most northern of the slave States, the coloured population is becoming 'inconveniently numerous in proportion to the whites,' and that it might thus find an outlet. This outlet, as far as regards the free part of the population, is open at all times, and if sufficient inducements can be offered, many will, doubtless, make the change. But it does not seem likely that those who are settled in the United States will voluntarily leave the country of their birth, where high wages are paid, and accept of a third or a fourth of the amount in a foreign land. It has been a favourite project with the American Colonisation Society to escape from the 'inconvenience' of a free coloured population, by drafting them into other places. There, freemen constantly remind the slaves in their neighbourhood of their degraded state, and they are a main channel in aiding their escape from bondage. If the freemen were once removed, the chains of the slave would be rivetted for ages. Virginia lately held a Convention for a change in her constitution, and the delegates passed a law that, after a twelvemonth, every free coloured man found in the State will be sold for a slave. These oppressed people, numbering about fifty thousand, will be thrown in upon the free States, which will be a fresh stimulus to the philanthropists there, in their exertions for the entire destruction of slavery. We cannot believe that it can be the serious intention of the British Government to aid in the removal of an 'inconvenience' which promises to bring about this much-desired consummation. Mr. Hawes' memorandum contemplates the removal from Virginia and Maryland of the whole gangs of negroes, with their proprietors at their head, and the sale of much West Indian property to American planters. It further proposes that regulations applicable to free men removed at the expense of the colonies shall be made, by which they shall enter on a servitude of five years in the British settlement, and give deductions from their wages to meet the views of their employers. It proposes that stringent engagements for future service should be entered into by the slaves before leaving the United States, although no obligation contracted under the compulsion of slavery could be justly binding. It is proposed to levy 2s. a week from the small wages now paid in the West Indies, for the benefit of their proprietors, and for an undefined period, as the purchase money of their freedom. Such proposals seem altogether at variance with the spirit of the Emancipation Act, and likely to lead to no other result, than the establishment of a new species of slavery or serfdom in the British dominions, for the benefit of American slaveholders. . . . In submitting these observations to the consideration of his Excellency the Governor-general, we are actuated by a desire to promote the best interests of the coloured race, and the most speedy extinction of American slavery."

#### THE NORTH AMERICAN COLOURED CONVENTION.

This Convention, composed of representatives from the United States and Canada, assembled on the 11th of September last, for the purpose of considering the present condition of the coloured people, their future prospects, and the best means to be adopted for their elevation. Mr. Henry Bibb was chosen as president, and a committee, composed of Mr. J. T. Fisher, Revs. Hiram Wilson, and Josiah Henson.

The business committee then reported the following resolutions, which, after a spirited debate, were received and adopted:—

"1. That the infamous fugitive slave enactment of the American Government—whether constitutional or unconstitutional—is an insult to God, and an outrage upon humanity, not to be endured by any people; we therefore earnestly entreat our brethren of the Northern and Southern States, to come out from under the jurisdiction of those wicked laws—from the power of a Government, whose tender mercies towards the coloured people are cruel.

"2. That we feel truly grateful, as a people, to her Britannic Majesty's just and powerful Government, for the protection afforded us;

and are fully persuaded, from the known fertility of the soil, and salubrity of climate, of the milder regions of Canada West, that this is by far the most desirable place of resort for coloured people, to be found on the American continent.

"3. That we warmly recommend to coloured settlers in Canada, to use all diligence in obtaining possession of uncultivated lands, for the laudable purpose of making themselves and their offspring independent tillers of a *free soil*."

The following protest against the first resolution was entered by the undersigned delegates:—

"Whereas, the Convention, in adopting the first resolution, inviting the coloured people to leave the Northern part of the United States, has done so contrary to the desires and wishes of those of us, from the States, who believe it to be impolitic and contrary to our professed policy in opposing the infamous Fugitive Slave Law, and schemes of American colonisation; therefore, we do hereby enter our solemn disapprobation and protest against this part of the said resolution.

"M. R. DELANEY, Penn.

"W. H. TOPP, New York.

"HENRY F. STANTON, Ohio.

"PAYTON HARRIS, New York."

Sept. 12.

On motion of Mr. Harris, reports from the several delegates, setting forth the moral, civil, and pecuniary condition of the coloured people, in their respective localities, were listened to with much attention, and, in some instances, with great satisfaction.

On motion, the following resolution reported by the business committee was called up for consideration, when Mr. Scoble, of England, arose, and in an able and eloquent manner recommended its adoption.

"Resolved, That chattel slavery, as now existing in the United States, is repugnant to Divine revelation, to reason, conscience, and common sense; that it is a most flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of Christianity, and ought at once, and for ever, to be abolished."

The following additional resolutions were reported by the business committee:—

"That this Convention impress upon the minds of our people the great necessity of acquiring education and wealth.

"That we recommend to the people abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, that they may, by so doing, save dollars for themselves and their children.

"Whereas, the independence and stability of the farmer's life throw around them the elements of character essential to happiness and progress, therefore,

"Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the people to cultivate the soil as one of the surest means by which to attain to respectability, influence, and independence.

"Resolved, That this Convention impress upon the minds of parents the necessity and advantage of their children learning trades; and that parents do not discharge their duty to their children, who do not make sacrifices to promote that end.

"Resolved, That the Convention recommend to the coloured people of the United States of America to emigrate to the Canadas, instead of going to Africa or the West India islands, that they, by so doing, may be better able to assist their brethren who are daily flying from American slavery."

On motion, the report was received, and the resolutions were adopted, excepting the fourth, which was laid over for the time, but adopted at a subsequent period.

#### EVENING SESSION.

The President in the chair.

Messrs. W. W. Anderson, of Jamaica, and John Scoble, Esq., of England, being solicited, came forward, and occupied the attention of the Convention with able and eloquent addresses in favour of emigration to Jamaica.

Mr. Scoble spoke, at great length, on the duty of looking upon all available locations on this continent, whether Canada, West Indies, or South America, as offering especial inducements to the coloured man to promote enterprise, intelligence and industry, and as furthering the great designs of the Deity in his final success.

On motion, a vote of thanks was tendered to those gentlemen for their information and able addresses.

Sept. 13th.

The business committee presented the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That slavery being a sin against God, and an outrage upon man, we feel sacredly bound, as a Convention and as individuals, to make common cause with the enslaved, and never to cease our efforts against slavery until it is swept from the face of the earth,—or our vital breath and pulsation cease.

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the establishment of exclusive churches and schools for coloured people contributes greatly towards the promotion of prejudice, heretofore unknown in the Canadas, and we do hereby recommend that all such organisations be abandoned as speedily as may be practicable.



"Resolved, That the British Government is the most favourable in the civilised world to the people of colour, and is thereby entitled to our entire confidence.

"Resolved, That we recommend to the friends of humanity, to support such presses only as will faithfully vindicate our cause; and that we use our best endeavours to extend the circulation of the 'Voice of the Fugitive.'"

Moved by John Scoble, Esq., seconded by William H. Harris, that a committee be formed to draw up an address as emanating from this Convention, and embodying in its spirit the sentiments embraced in the various resolutions which have been adopted, and that the same committee be a committee of revision and publication.

The following amendment, offered by Mr. Scoble to a resolution submitted by Mr. Fisher, was unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved, That the formation of a great league of the coloured people of the North and South American continents, and of the West Indies, for the general abolition of slavery, for the protection of the common rights of their brethren throughout the world, and for their social, political, and moral elevation, be recommended to the consideration of a committee of five persons, to be appointed by this Convention; and that they take the necessary steps to acquire information, and to report at such time, and in such manner, as they may think proper, the result of their inquiries and deliberations."

#### FATHER HENSON.

We are glad to be able to lay before our readers the following, which we take from an editorial letter which appeared in the *Voice of the Fugitive* of the 10th of September last. It is evident, from the remarks of Mr. Bibb, as well as from private information, that Mr. Henson has been the subject of a conspiracy; for it turns out that so far from the deprecatory resolutions, which appeared in certain prints, having been passed at the public meeting therein alluded to, they were never presented, and were therefore forged to suit a wicked purpose.

Mr. Bibb remarks:—

"We attended Dawn Institute with great anxiety and deep solicitude for the truth respecting the bad reports which had been put in circulation about some of the leaders of that Institute.

"Father Henson was accompanied by John Scoble, Esq., from Europe, who was sent out from Europe as a committee to investigate *inter alia* reports which had been sent to England against the moral character of the Rev. Josiah Henson. A large public meeting was held in Dawn, of white and coloured persons, for the purpose, at which time the trustees were present. Mr. Scoble entered upon the duty confided to him with praiseworthy spirit, determined to know nothing short of the whole truth, if possible. Mr. Henson stood before his accusers, with an undaunted courage, while the inflammatory letters and resolutions which had been sent to Europe against him were read, and not one of which was attempted to be supported by the disaffected party; so far from it, Wm. P. Newman declared, in the presence of that meeting, that he never had said anything against the moral character of Mr. Henson, directly or indirectly, and that there were no such resolutions brought forward or passed at the Chatham meeting, at which he attended when R. Cammel was chairman. The meeting was then challenged by Mr. Henson to produce anything against his moral character, but no one attempted it. The whole proceedings of the meeting, we suppose, will be forwarded to us by the Secretary, which shall be given to our readers."

#### THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

The interest excited by the present position of Cuba causes an inquiry for statistics regarding the actual condition of the commerce and resources of that island. In a work recently issued in New York, entitled "Cuba in 1851," some figures are given explanatory of these questions to a certain extent; but they are not full, neither is the information, so far as furnished, officially reliable. It is the policy of Spain to neglect publishing annually, as is the custom of the United States and Great Britain, details of her internal resources, and the revenues annually derived from her commerce, so that we are without these facts, unless obtained by persevering inquiry; but the *Diario de la Marina* of Havana, some time back, and still more recently the *Balanza General de Comercio*, have had occasion to allude to these affairs as arguments against the alleged "deplorable condition" of the island, and from these statistics we prepare the following. The average imports and exports from the island, from 1828 to 1847, afford the annexed results:—

AVERAGE PER ANNUM.		
Imports.	Exports.	Revenue.
1828 to 1832.... d.17,000,000....	d.11,850,000....	d.8,785,000
1833 to 1837.... 20,050,000....	15,675,000....	8,945,000
1838 to 1842.... 24,800,000....	24,275,000....	11,250,000
1843 to 1847.... 26,300,000....	33,850,000....	10,750,000

On the last of the preceding periods, that is, from 1843 to 1847, the average annual amount of the exports was greatly affected by deficient crops in 1845 and 1846, caused by a long drought, followed by a hurricane. It is believed that the average returns for the succeeding years would prove more favourable, some of the largest sugar estates in the island having recently been formed. For the single year 1848, the separate returns of which have lately been obtained, imports are exhibited to the amount, in round numbers, of \$25,000,000, and exports of \$26,000,000.

#### EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES.

Sugar, 5,405,867d. 4½c.; molasses, 1,403,924d. 7c.;	
cigars and cigarillas, 824,661d. 1c.; tobacco leaf,	
227,024d. 3c.; coffee, 108,285d. 4c.; fine woods,	
107,711d. 7c.; other produce, 184,258d. 5c.; pro-	
duce of other countries, 24,094d. 3½c.....	d.8,285,828 3

#### TO GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES.

Sugar, 4,885,097d. 1½c.; molasses and honey, 80,509d.	
9½c.; cigars and tobacco, 242,486d. 2c.; copper ore,	
1,511,608d. 6c.; mahogany and other fine woods,	
157,046d. 6c.; other produce, 141,750d. 3c.; pro-	
duce of other countries, 46,299d. 4½c.....	7,064,798 6½
To France.....	1,184,201 1
To Spain, mostly in Spanish bottoms.....	3,927,007 6½
To Germany.....	3,918,806 0½
To Spanish American ports.....	356,774 0½
To Denmark and her colonies.....	109,331 0
To Holland.....	364,680 0
To Brazil.....	10,371 0
To Belgium.....	503,456 7
To other countries not enumerated, with the exception	
of Sardinia.....	351,812 7½

Total amount of exports..... d.26,077,068 0½

For some time the cultivation of coffee has been gradually abandoned, while that of sugar and tobacco has greatly augmented. In 1842, the exportation of sugar was 817,000 boxes, and in 1848 it was 1,229,718. Tobacco also, in the five years from 1842 to 1847, increased from 5,940,000 lbs. to 9,309,000 lbs., although the quantity in 1848, owing to a deficient crop, was only 6,275,630 lbs. The public revenue in 1848 was \$13,000,000 (\$12,922,573), of which \$6,900,000 were from customs dues, and the balance of \$6,000,000 from internal taxation. About two-thirds of the entire trade of the island are carried on at Havana. There are fourteen other ports, but none of much importance, except St. Jago and Matanzas. The duties on all foreign imported articles were increased 1½ per cent. on the 1st of March last, and are now understood to amount to 35½ per cent. The export duties were also increased on the 1st of January last, and are now 87½ cents per box on sugar, and 75 cents per thousand on cigars. The duties on imports from the mother country were at the same time raised.

#### EXPORTS FROM THE ISLAND.

	1850.	1851.	Increase.
Sugar, boxes.....	832,744½	985,944½	153,200½
Honey, casks.....	149,185	192,447	43,262
Coffee, arrobas.....	54,193	152,829	98,636
Cigars, M. ....	69,064½	167,603	98,539½

#### VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	1850.		1851.		Increase.	
Imports .....	d.3,068,508	5½	d.3,207,613	0	d.139,104	2½
Exports .....	398,237	5½	1,050,133	3½	651,895	6
Total ....	d.3,466,746	3	d.4,257,746	3½	d.791,000	0½

The population and different classifications in 1850 were:—

Creole.....	520,000
Spaniards.....	35,000
Troops and marines.....	23,000
Foreigners.....	10,560
Floating population.....	17,000
	605,560 whites.
Free mulattoes.....	118,200
Free blacks.....	87,370
	205,570 free coloured.
Slave mulattoes.....	11,100
Slave blacks.....	425,000
	436,100 slaves.
Total population.....	1,247,230



## CHIEF TOWNS.

North side.	Population.	Department.
Havana.....	200,000 .....	Western.
Matanzas .....	25,000 .....	"
Cardenas .....	5,000 .....	"
Sagua la Grande .....	2,500 .....	Central.
San Juan Remedios.....	6,000 .....	"
Villa Clara .....	9,000 .....	"
Puerto Principe .....	35,000 .....	"
Holguin .....	5,000 .....	Eastern.
Baracoa.....	4,600 .....	"
South side.		
Santiago .....	35,000 .....	"
Manzanilla .....	4,000 .....	"
Trinidad .....	15,000 .....	Central.
San Spiritu .....	12,000 .....	"
Cienfuegos .....	5,200 .....	"
Batabano .....	1,000 .....	Western.
San Juan.....	1,000 .....	"

The railroads constructed in the island, at the beginning of 1849, reached a total of 256 miles. These were:—

Havana to Guines, miles constructed .....	88
" Branch to Batabano, ditto.....	11
" San Antonio, ditto.....	8
" Cardenas, ditto.....	29
" Jucaro, with two branches, ditto .....	35
Matanzas to Sabanilla, ditto.....	28
" Coliseo, ditto .....	24
Nuevitas to Puerto Principe, ditto .....	24
St. Jago de Cuba to the Copper Mines, ditto .....	0

### The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1st, 1851.

There are some who deem that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society has been deficient in its duty, in not speaking with greater frequency, and in stronger language, on the gigantic crime of American slavery, and its fitting accompaniment, the Fugitive Slave Law. We reply, that if we are guilty in this matter, it has not arisen from want of zeal in the contest with a most cruel and unrighteous oppression, but from an error in judgment. It has been our endeavour to embrace every fitting opportunity to testify, whether in more private circles or on public occasions, our deep sense of the crime placed under the special protection of American legislation, and sanctioned by large numbers of professedly Christian churches in America. We shall not further attempt to vindicate ourselves than to refer to the pages of the *Reporter* for what we have done and said, in reference not only to slavery in the United States of America, but in nearly every other part of the world.

We confess that we feel strongly inclined to say some words also on behalf of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, which has been subjected to a similar kind of animadversion to that which it has been our lot to encounter; but we believe that we shall best consult the reputation of our transatlantic friends, by leaving to them the defence of their own conduct, should they deem it needful or desirable, and for which our pages are freely offered. We know the zeal and the integrity of some of these fellow-workers with us, and are persuaded that they have done and are doing much to awaken anti-slavery feeling and efforts in their country, and we rejoice in the belief that their labours have not been, and will not yet be in vain.

We proceed to say a few words on the subject of the Evangelical Alliance, in connexion with American slavery. We expressed a hope, in our paper for August, that that body would give no uncertain sound on the subject. We regret to find, however, that whilst, in a recent session in London, a large space of time was afforded to Dr. Baird, to make statements relating to the conduct of the American people and churches, on the subject of slavery, which we deem liable to serious objection, no opportunity was afforded for a suitable reply. We fear that such a procedure was unwise, and may lead to evil consequences. Does evangelical religion consist in faith without works? Can evangelical religion consent to be silent, or scarcely heard, when the happiness and the dearest and most sacred rights of millions of human beings are deeply involved, and that in connexion with an evil which exists, not only in Roman Catholic countries, but in the heart of

Protestantism, shedding a pestilential blight on civilisation, morals, and on the religious character? We have not so learned Christ.

We observe that Dr. Baird, and not a few of our American brethren, appear to be very sore at the manner in which the subject of slavery in their country is regarded in England. They appear to think that we know but little on the subject, and have little right to speak upon it, or to call American citizens or Christians to any account in this matter, which concerns them rather than us, and in which they can alone act efficiently. We, on the other hand, suppose that, during our struggle for the abolition of slavery in our own colonies, we obtained some knowledge of the essential character of slavery wherever it exists, and of the means of promoting its downfall. With this knowledge, or imaginary knowledge, we cannot be content to see this grievous oppression growing, from day to day, in America, without lifting up our voices against it, in louder and louder tones, and saying, "Do not so, brethren, and thus sin, not only against man but against God."

We shall not here enter on an examination of the evils of slavery in America, which no intelligent and candid person will deny, but for an instant advert to what might be done for the removal of this evil. The American churches might express themselves in unmistakeable language in relation to the system. They might also petition the State Legislatures and those of the federal Union, that they would take such steps as are respectively within their power, for the discouragement of slavery and its concomitant evils. We know that such conduct, on the part of Christian churches in this country, was attended with the happiest results, although it occasioned a temporary and violent irritation on the part of the supporters of slavery in our colonies; and we cannot for a moment doubt that it would similarly subserve the cause of freedom in America, although the obstacles to emancipation may there be greater than was the case in the British colonies. Difficulties in a good cause should, however, lead not to supineness or inaction, but to increased zeal and energy. We are sure that these qualities are not always wanting in our American brethren; and when they shall put them forth, as they have done in the promotion of temperance, and on many other occasions, we are persuaded that the downfall of slavery will be nigh.

Let it not be said that Englishmen should not plead for the slave, because our own country was formerly, or even recently, implicated in the crime, and bequeathed it to America. On the same ground it might have been said to Paul of Tarsus, that he ought not to preach the faith which once he destroyed. There are, perhaps, none more fit to show the sinner the evil of his way, than they who have been themselves liable to this reproach, and have repented and abjured sin.

The Anti-slavery cause in the United States, if we may judge from the amount of attention it commands, and the increasing excitement attendant on its operations—is one of advancement. In this, as in every combat of truth against error, of liberty against despotism, the friends of freedom are as much indebted to the *furor* of their opponents, as to their own well-timed efforts, for the increasing success of their holy enterprise. Perhaps, no engine could have been contrived by human skill, more likely to work destruction to its inventors, than the Fugitive Slave Law,—an enactment which was intended to work salvation for the slaveholder, and put an end to anti-slavery efforts. But what have been its results? Why, it has done more to spread abroad the essential iniquity of the slave system, and to reach the minds of those who were before indifferent to the question of human freedom, than could have been effected by a long course of agitation. It has convulsed the Free States by exhibitions of inhumanity and cruelty on the part of the slave-hunters, and that, to support a system to which they are opposed. And the slaveholder himself, the party to be benefited, begins to find his captured victim a firebrand, which it is dangerous to let loose among those who have never tasted the sweets of self-possession. But, despite all opposition, and at whatever sacrifice, the law must be maintained.

The Christiana tragedy, to which we lately called the attention of our readers, is likely to be the means of creating an increased excitement. It appears that a considerable number of persons, white and coloured, are in custody, on the charge of being implicated in the affray, which is construed into an offence against the Government, so as to render them indictable for *treason*. The press, as well as the public voice, is indignant at the daring act, the object of which is only too evident. The *New York Independent*



has an elaborate article on the subject, from which we extract the following:—

"From time immemorial an indictment for treason has been the ready instrument of despotism for enforcing odious and oppressive laws. In Austria or Italy, at this day, to whisper dissatisfaction with any law or administrative act of Government, is a crime against the Government, for which the offender is likely to forfeit his life. Significantly enough, a formidable array of treason trials is brought forward in this country, in connexion with an inhuman statute, the enforcement of which does violence to the spirit of our institutions, exasperates popular feeling, and grates upon the noblest sentiments of human nature. While these trials are in progress, and the evidence yet incomplete, we have no disposition to comment upon them, or in any way to influence public sentiment towards those concerned in their management. Let the course of justice be uninterrupted by popular appeals. But there are certain great principles involved in the treason case at Philadelphia that call for discussion. Judge Kane, in his charge to the Grand Jury, defined the law of treason in a manner that is not sustained by the Constitution of the United States, nor by any American precedent. If his construction of treason is to be taken as the law of the land, it is hardly too much to say that there is an end of political liberty. As public journalists, therefore, it becomes us to look this matter calmly in the face, to see whither we are tending, and if possible to arouse the national sentiment against doctrines of the most absolute tyranny.

"Persons who look upon the Constitution as an instrument too sacred to be read and interpreted by any but a United States Judge, will of course accept the doctrine of Judge Kane's charge as the supreme law; accept it without once comparing it with the Constitution or with legal precedents. Perhaps Judge Kane presumed upon this implicit acquiescence from the Grand Jury to whom his charge was delivered; if so, their finding shows that he understood his men. But persons who have had the benefit of a common school education, and have learned to read and to think for themselves, and who have even presumed to examine that venerable instrument called the Constitution of the United States, will be astounded at the chicanery and the effrontery that this charge exhibits. Will it be credited that a United States Judge, under a solemn oath to interpret and administer the laws according to the Constitution, has made a garbled quotation from the Constitution itself, omitting the most important qualifying terms, and then instructed a jury that this mangled and perverted sentence was the law of the land? Credible or incredible, the fact is precisely so.

"Judge Kane asserts, that according to the Constitution, treason consists in levying war against the United States, &c., and thence proceeds to extend the crime to all sorts of constructive hostility to the Government, until there is no shade of thought or opinion adverse to the administration of the Federal Government that may not be proved 'a kind of treason.' This doctrine of constructive treason is a dangerous and detestable invention of arbitrary power. Since the days of the bloody Jeffries, it has been discarded by the most eminent jurists of England. It was formally discarded by the framers of the Constitution of the United States, and in the very words of that instrument.

"The early American colonists had reason to detest that doctrine. The arbitrary attempts of Charles I. and II., served to increase the dislike which as English commoners they bore to this engine of despotism. The framers of the Constitution of the United States sought to provide against the use of an indictment for treason as a weapon either of popular vengeance, or of factious usurpation. To guard effectually against such an abuse, they did what they did with respect to no other crime—they *defined* it, and fixed its limitation in the organic law of the land. They declared that treason shall consist *ONLY* in levying war against the United States, &c., and that 'no person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act.' Judge Kane omits the word 'only,' which defines the act specifically, and then goes back three centuries to ascertain the intent of the statute of Edward III. He makes treason to consist in words, letters, signs, &c., and makes each constructive offender a principal in the crime. And all this in face of an express article of the Constitution, which limits treason against the United States to two *overt* acts therein specified; viz. 'levying war against the United States, and aiding and abetting their enemies,' and which requires that the testimony of two witnesses to each overt act shall be necessary to conviction. How came Judge Kane to garble the Constitution?

How did he dare to omit the very words that define the crime which was the subject of his charge? Did he presume upon the stupidity or credulity of the grand jurors? If so, he did not go amiss. The Constitution itself, the organic law of the country, restricts the crime of treason to two specific overt acts.

"On this point the *National Era*, in an elaborate discussion of the whole subject, makes the following pertinent remarks—

Congress was empowered to 'define and punish piracies and felonies upon the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations,' but *not to define the law of treason*. The Convention determined to settle the meaning of this crime in the organic law, so that the rights of the citizen should not be exposed to popular excitement, the intolerance of faction, or the vindictiveness of party. Congress might provide the *punishment* of treason; the Constitution alone should define the offence. Accordingly, the Convention agreed upon the following provision, which is certainly not deficient in clearness:—

'Treason against the United States shall consist *ONLY* in *levying war* AGAINST THEM, or in *adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort*. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act.'

"As to the import of the phrase, 'levying war' against the United States, there can be no reasonable doubt. Lopez levied war—though on a sufficiently reduced scale—against the Spanish Government in Cuba, and he met the death of a traitor. His avowed intention was to overthrow the Government. Nothing short of this is 'levying war,' within the intent of the federal Constitution. To resist the execution of a specific law, for local or occasional reasons, is not levying war against the Government.

"In the *Christiana* case, according to the Rev. Mr. Gorsuch, there was no United States' officer on the ground at the time of the affray, he having formally withdrawn the process, and called upon his aids to retire. The attempt to make treason of such an affray is an outrage alike upon the Constitution and common sense. But, alas! truth is fallen in the streets, and equity cannot enter."

We have copied into our columns some interesting passages from a recent work of the late lamented J. J. Freeman. We commend the book, entitled "*A Tour in South Africa, &c.*," to the attention of all who take an interest in the coloured race, and in the civilisation and religious advancement of a large and important British colony. We shall not dwell on the deplorable war which is now raging in that interesting country, and which we hope will be shortly terminated by the justice and clemency of British statesmen. In the few paragraphs we have given, it will be found that some little light is thrown, and we wish that much more could have been shed, on the results of British emancipation in the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius. We learn from these brief notices that there are emancipated slaves and their descendants, living in respectability and comfort in South Africa, and that the remains of the same class in Mauritius, who have survived to the present time, are in a situation of moderate independence—willing to work on the sugar plantations for a dollar per week, but not to accept the Coolie starving allowance of half that amount. These accounts afford a pleasing contrast to the days of slavery, especially in the circumstance that the lash is no longer the instrument in procuring labour, and that the former great barriers to intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, are to a great extent removed by the advent of freedom. The decrease in the emancipated population of Mauritius is largely accounted for by the much greater number of males than females existing in the colony.

The condition of the Coolies in Mauritius, as reported by J. J. Freeman, deserves the serious investigation of the British Government, and requires an adequate remedy. That remedy, and the only remedy, we believe to be the discontinuance of Coolie immigration in large numbers, or in any number, at the public expense—a remark scarcely, if at all, less applicable to other British Colonies.

For the information of our readers, we beg to state that letters have this day been received from Mr. SCOBLE, and that he is expected home during the present month.



## Literature.

*The Progress and Prospects of Christianity in the United States of America; with Remarks on the Subject of Slavery in America; and on the Intercourse between British and American Churches.* By R. BAIRD, D.D. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1851.

Dr. Baird, it would seem, is not yet satisfied with the outpouring of his invectives before the Evangelical Alliance, against those who have dared to lift up their voice against the system of American slavery; for, in his recently published pamphlet, he again returns to the subject with increased virulence of language, and in a highly reproachful spirit. Apparently, he is in no way particular as to the objects of his attack, since, in turn, he deals with all classes of opponents. The press especially comes in for a large share of condemnation. He says:—

"A dozen secular and half-a-dozen so-called religious newspapers on this side of the ocean, can be fully matched by the same number on the other, in respect to the *habilité*, indifference to consequences, and even bad feeling, which they display in treating reciprocally of each other's countries and their institutions."

And again:—

"One thing surprises the author of these remarks beyond measure; it is, that so far as the religious people of England are concerned, he has learned that the most unkind feeling towards the United States is to be found among the Dissenting bodies. Indeed it would seem, if we may judge from the language of one of their organs,—the *Eclectic Review* for the month of August of this year,—that these bodies, or some who affect to be their leaders, have come to the conclusion that it is their especial 'mission,'—to use a phrase which has great currency in these days, *to condemn and oppose slavery in America*; which is—their mode of doing it being the exponent,—a *Euphemism* for the more homely expression:—*to abuse America and everything that belongs to it!* Another of their journals seems to exult with perfect delight, that the Evangelical Alliance has failed *because of slavery in America!* That it has not become the great and glorious movement which it might have been, is owing to an unnecessary, and most useless meddling with that subject; but if the editor and a certain party who think with him in this matter have rejoiced at the fact, it is to be feared that they have placed themselves in very bad company; for it is certain that some other beings, with a powerful chief at their head, have also rejoiced and in advance of them, at the same result, and done what they could to bring it about!"

There need be no difficulty in determining the reason for this attack on the Dissenting bodies, whose action seems to have deeply affected the Doctor. The resolutions passed at the different unions of ministers, as well as by separate churches, have not been without their influence. Indeed, it is just that influence which cannot be withstood; the integrity and uprightness of the remonstrants it would be in vain to call in question. And if the churches of the United States would generally follow the example so worthily set, then the most glorious results would speedily ensue. To use the language of the Rev. Albert Barnes, which we respectfully commend to the consideration of our author:—

"There is not vital energy enough—there is not power of influence and numbers enough—*out of the church*, to sustain it. Let every religious denomination in the land *detach itself* from all connexion with slavery, without saying a word against others; let the time come, when in all the mighty denominations of Christians it can be announced that *the evil has ceased with them for ever*; and let the voice of each denomination be lifted up in kind but firm and solemn testimony against the system—with no 'mealy words,' with no attempt at apology, with no effort to throw the sacred shield of religion over so great an evil, and the work is done. There is no public sentiment in this land—there could be none created—that would resist such a testimony; there is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained in it."

But in referring to the course pursued by the abolitionists of this country, on the subject of American slavery, the Doctor deals most unfairly. He has laid hold of a hobby-horse, which he literally rides to death; and because one individual whom he designates, unwisely upbraided American Christians as "hypocrites and liars," and applied other cognomens of similar import, he takes these expressions as a sample of our abolition feeling and action.

So far as the implication of the churches of the United States is concerned, the Doctor appears to think that they are doing all that can be required of them—at least, he has nothing to say against them. He seems perfectly satisfied that things would go on very well, if all the efforts made to overthrow the system were at once to cease. He therefore begs, on their behalf, that they may be left alone. He says, "with regard to practical action do not interfere, for your interference will only retard the glorious consummation. If we cannot, with God's help, manage this great evil, which we inherited from you—let it never be forgotten—without your help, we cannot do it at all."

But that our readers may understand that the churches of the United States are not in the healthy position which is represented, we subjoin an

extract from a letter of the Hon. Judge Jay, written in reply to a request that he would become a life member of the American Missionary Society, which, of all the other Missionary Societies, is the only one conducted on strictly anti-slavery principles. The letter is dated 4th September, 1851. He says:—"Your Association is especially commended to my regard by its freedom from the loathsome heresy, with which, to a greater or less degree, almost every other Missionary Society in our country is tainted. This heresy, which has been appropriately styled '*COTTON DIVINITY*,' virtually and practically teaches that the precepts of love, mercy and justice, given by our adorable Redeemer, are not obligatory on white men in their intercourse with black. The black man, if a slave, may, according to this theological system, be righteously held and treated as a vendible beast of burden, and his wife and children sent to market at the pleasure of the owner.

"Should he escape from bondage, the teachers of this divinity hold that the same God who commands us to love mercy and to do justice, and who declares that he hates oppression, requires us to seize this innocent man and send him back to all the horrors, darkness, and heathenism of his prison-house. Should the black man happen to be legally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, cotton divinity virtually denies that he is the neighbour mentioned in the second great commandment given by our Lord. The insults, privations, and outrages which he endures from a mean, cruel, and wicked prejudice, instead of being rebuked as a sin against the common Father and Creator of all, are in fact countenanced and justified by the conduct of a certain class of divines. The black man may have been cleansed, not only in the waters of baptism, but with the blood of sprinkling, and may ask from a theological seminary aid to enable him to preach to his own people the unsearchable riches of Christ; but he asks in vain—cotton divinity puts on its spectacles, examines the tincture of his skin, and pronouncing him unclean, drives him from the school of the prophets.

"He may indeed receive holy orders; but even then, not a few of the ambassadors of the lowly Jesus, who by eating and lodging with the despised Samaritans rebuked the prejudices of the Jewish priests and Pharisees, scorn to sit in the councils of the church with a minister of the most high God, not coloured like themselves, although admitting that he holds his commission from the great Head of the Church, through apostolic succession.

"Nor are the victims of this ungodly spirit of caste in the church always released by death from its persecution. I know an episcopal parish in this State that accepted and now holds a valuable cemetery, on the infamous condition, embodied in the deed of conveyance, and entered on record, '*that they shall never suffer any coloured person to be buried in any part of the same.*' In this cemetery 'Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics' are welcome to sepulture 'for a consideration;' but should a coloured minister of Jesus Christ there find a grave, the whole estate is forfeited! A Presbyterian Church, having lots in a cemetery to sell, in order to entice purchasers, gave a public guarantee that neither *negroes* nor executed *felons* should ever be interred within its bounds!

"Christianity, we are taught by such men, justifies the forcible retention of a brother man, innocent of crime, as a 'chattel personal,' an article of merchandise—the annihilation of all his rights, the denial of his conjugal and parental relations, and the systematic shrouding of his intellect in darkness, that he may with greater facility be retained and employed as an animated machine. To declare, as some of our chief priests have done, that 'no men nor set of men in our day, unless they can produce a new revelation from heaven, are entitled to pronounce slavery *wrong*;' and that slavery, as it exists at the present day, is agreeable to the order of Divine Providence,' is virtually to declare that Christianity is an inexplicable riddle, a compound of contradictions and falsehoods, utterly incapable of a Divine original."

*A Tour in South Africa.* By the Rev. J. J. FREEMAN. 1851.

We make the following extracts from the above valuable and interesting work:—

## UITENHAGE—INTERESTING PUBLIC MEETING.

"On reaching the town (two o'clock, P. M.), I found the friends of the congregation of the London Missionary Society all busy with preparations for a *soirée* that evening, and which was intended as a mark of the esteem and respect they were desirous of showing me, as the deputation from the Society. Accordingly, at six o'clock we met. About 400 sat down to tea. The Rev. Mr. Smith, of the Dutch church, took the chair; Mr. Hall, Wesleyan minister, was with us, and Mr. Kitchingham, from Bethelsdorp. The body of the chapel was occupied with a cross table, very neatly and tastefully ornamented with flowers, and amply supplied with oranges and cakes; two immense chandeliers occupied the centre of the tables, gaily adorned with flowers. The singers occupied the gallery; after tea we had several addresses, and after each a hymn, or some other piece of sacred composition, was sung; and, excepting that the voices were rather too powerful, the execution was excellent, under the guidance of Mr. Jones. In the course of the evening, oranges and cakes were handed round, and later in the evening, coffee. The company broke up about ten o'clock, all delighted, I think, with the Christian



spirit that had pervaded the meeting, and the animated appearance and kindly character of the whole scene. The assembly consisted almost exclusively of persons of colour, but all were comfortably and even respectably attired in European clothing. All the arrangements were well conducted, and I was gratified on learning that the whole had been managed by the people themselves. They paid one shilling each for tickets of admission, and devoted the surplus, after paying cost of provisions, &c., to the general funds connected with the congregation. They hold, annually, a similar meeting, usually about Christmas, in commemoration of the abolition of slavery, in which condition most of those present had been born, and out of which they had been, through British justice and benevolence, happily rescued. And how well they deserved emancipation, and how amply they have profited by their advantages in their new condition, the scene of social comfort, intelligence, order, and religion, which I witnessed that evening, afforded me many and cheering illustrations, and made me wish that everywhere, in both hemispheres, men were as free and as happy."

DYSELSDORF—PUBLIC MEETING—THE LABOUR QUESTION.

"At a public meeting of the people which I attended, chiefly in reference to the temporal affairs of the station, I was struck with some shrewd remarks made by the natives on the question of labour. They said, they had been found fault with, as a body of labourers, that they were deficient in industry, and that Government had instituted an inquiry into the affair, so far as they were concerned. They thought it might be now equally proper to inquire into the conduct of masters towards the labourers, for possibly there might be some matters of just complaint against the employers, and that both sides should be heard. Wages, they said, were very low. Farmers sometimes broke their engagements, and the people found it difficult to obtain redress. They mentioned several cases of hardship. They urged, too, that, after all the charges brought against them, it was some proof of their industry, that *all* the agricultural work in the colony was performed by them, the labourers of the labour class, inasmuch as the farmers themselves never put their hands even to a spade."

MAURITIUS—THE EMANCIPATED CLASSES AND COOLIES.

"I find that those who were formerly slaves in the island are not now engaged in the manufacture of sugar. They require, it is affirmed, far higher wages than the planters can afford to give, so as to secure remunerating prices. Of course, a very large proportion of those who were slaves have died off during the fifteen years that have elapsed since the emancipation. The rest are either domestic servants, or live on small plots of land, which they hire, where they raise and sell fruit and vegetables. The sugar is now manufactured chiefly by the labours of the immigrant Indians, whose wages are much lower than those demanded by the Creoles. The latter ask five dollars per month, which is equal to 5s. per week. The Coolies from India do not receive more than half that sum. They consequently expend less on food; in fact, their nourishment is extremely meagre—in many cases it is quite insufficient for the demands of nature; and hence it has been thought that the rapid mortality which takes place among them may be accounted for. It would be well that statistical information on these points should be obtained and published. There had been a large recent arrival of labourers from India. The number of Coolies in the island is said to be 60,000; many of them are so well satisfied with their work and wages in Mauritius, that they return a second, and even a third time for employment. They are extremely frugal; they save their earnings, and carry home the amount to India. There is also a large number of Chinese residing here as artisans and petty shopkeepers. They occupy almost an entire side of the bazaar, or public market, where they sell salt provisions. A Chinese temple has been erected here."

NATIVES OF MADAGASCAR.

"There are several natives of Madagascar residing in Port Louis. They have, for the most part, lived in Mauritius many years, and were formerly in slavery. I discovered this while inquiring of them if they had families. There were seven or eight women present. They replied, that they had not; that they had had families formerly, but their children were taken from them when young, and distributed or sold, they knew not whither; in fact, they had no means of knowing whether they were still living or not;—one of the horrid, inhuman results of slavery. Many of these people are members of Mr. Le Brun's congregation; some of them are communicants. They retain the native custom of bringing a present, on coming to pay a stranger a visit. On calling to salute me on my arrival, they brought pigeons, fruit, and eggs."

UNITED STATES—CONVENTION OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM.

A great Free Soil Convention was held on the 24th of September last, at Cleveland, Ohio, and was attended by some of the most distinguished supporters of the free soil party. The proceedings were characterised by a large amount of earnest feeling. The meeting was called to order by

Dr. W. H. Brisbane, and a committee was at once appointed to nominate officers, which reported as follows:—

*President.*—Dr. F. Julius Lemoyne of Pennsylvania.

*Vice-presidents.*—Woodbury Davis of Maine, Lewis Tappan of New York, Dr. W. H. Brisbane of Ohio, and S. M. Booth of Wisconsin.

*Secretaries.*—B. F. Hoffman and H. F. Brayton of Ohio, and Dr. M. Kelsey of Illinois.

Cassius M. Clay, being called upon, addressed the Convention. The following is an abstract of his speech:—

"Mr. Clay commenced by saying that he felt himself highly honoured by being called upon to address so large an audience.

"It is not a question between the North and South, but a question of the aristocracy on the one hand, and the bone and sinew of the land on the other. It is, whether we can carry out the great principles of the Declaration of Independence consistently with the practices of the South?

"He said the declaration, that all men were created free and equal, sounded strange to Southern men, while they were holding three millions of their brethren in bondage. He added, that Sherman and Jefferson, and nearly all the prominent men who aided in framing the constitution, studiously avoided putting anything in that instrument which would in the remotest degree recognise the right to property in man. Slaves were called 'persons held to service.' Southern men, at that time, only desired to be let alone. They asked for no laws to protect slavery—neutrality was what they demanded. They endeavoured to frame the constitution so as to preserve the conscience and integrity of the North. They asked that slaves be 'delivered up'—not that they be caught and returned to slavery by us. The Fugitive Slave Bill violates the principles of neutrality adopted by our fathers, in the constitution. The North, in this matter, is far guiltier than the South. Southern men have been bred oppressors, Northern men can plead no such excuse. I advocate the repeal of this Fugitive Law, because it outrages both justice and the constitution. I counsel no violent opposition to this law; we must, until its repeal, submit to its infamous demands. I would rather live under the despotism of the Autocrat of Russia—under any despotism recognised among men—than the despotism of slavery. It is the despotism, not of one man, but of a million of petty lords and tyrants. We can have no real liberty in these States until the power is wrested from the slaveholding influences of the South. You will struggle in vain to make labour respectable, while slavery exists in the South; its effects are seen in every avenue of life, social, civil, commercial, and industrial. And because you, freemen of the North, will not submit to this oppressive tyranny, Southerners threaten to dissolve the Union! A few remarks in regard to the state of parties. *I have acted, as many of you know, with the Whig party.* I advocated the election of Henry Clay, and, subsequently, of General Taylor, confiding in the promises which they made me. *If there can be any blame attached to me in the matter, it is in acting so long with a party that has proved recreant to every principle of liberty and republicanism. The time has come when I must separate myself from that party.* A word as to policy. We should be innocent as doves and wise as serpents. We must look for strength from the ranks of the democratic *working* men of the country. It should be the policy of the Government to make every man a landholder. This will be our best standing army—a standing army should consist in a distribution of property. The Whig party embraces the landed property-holders of this country; they are, and always have been, the Conservatives of the country; and it is they who will, in the final struggle, join the slave interests of the South. Can I, when such an issue is made up, regard the questions of internal improvements, and banks, and tariff? Strip me of every physical comfort; turn me out, stripped of every earthly comfort; but give me LIBERTY. Now we must look for our aid from the ranks of the great labouring army of the country. We are living in very important times—an age, more remarkable than any that has preceded us. Physical improvement is unexampled in the history of the world. And a moral sentiment, a moral power has been brought to bear upon the question of enslaving men, such as never was before. A noble army have put their hands to the plough, and they will never look back, until liberty shall be the birthright of every son and daughter of this glorious confederacy."

Several other addresses were delivered, to which our space will not permit us to refer. On the second day, a resolution fixing upon the time and place of holding a Convention for the nomination of Presidential and Vice-presidential candidates having been introduced, the following modification or substitute offered by Mr. Lewis Tappan was adopted:

"Resolved, That a committee of one from each State in the Union be appointed, to fix upon the time and place of said Convention."

The President appointed the following gentlemen as said committee:—

Samuel Lewis, of Ohio; Samuel Aaron, of Pennsylvania; Lewis Tappan, of New York; Edmund Perkins, of Connecticut; Charles Allen, of Massachusetts; E. A. Stansbury, of Vermont; Amos Tuck, of New Hampshire; Samuel Fessenden, of Maine; — Harris, of Rhode Island; George W. Julian, of Indiana; Z. Eastman, of Illinois; J. R. Williams, of Michigan; S. M. Booth, of Wisconsin; Wm. J. Clarke, of Iowa; J. G. Fee, of Kentucky; Dr. J. E. Snodgrass, of Maryland;



S. Mayes Bell, of Virginia; — Goodelow, of North Carolina; Jacob Bigelow, of District of Columbia.

The committee on resolutions reported the following, which were adopted:—

"Whereas we have assembled in Convention as freemen, to adopt measures for the protection and preservation of freedom, it is due to ourselves, to the occasion, and to the people of the nation, that we declare our views on certain questions of national policy.

"Resolved, That law is without rightful authority, unless based upon justice, and Government is without stability, unless righteousness be its end, as without these no man can enjoy his inalienable rights, and no society secure them.

"Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to divorce the National Government from all connection with and responsibility for slavery and the slave-trade, wherever they exist under its jurisdiction.

"Resolved, That an act of Congress contravening the law of God imposes no moral obligation, and an act of Congress passed without constitutional authority imposes no civil obligation upon the citizens of the several States.

"Resolved, That to the demand of the slave power for more slave States and more slave territory, our determined answer is, 'No more slave States, no slave territory.'

"Resolved, That the 'Fugitive Slave Act,' enacted by the last Congress, is in derogation of the genius of our free institutions, an unwarrantable encroachment upon the sovereignty of the States, a violation of the principles of natural and revealed religion, an assumption of legislative power without constitutional authority, and a monstrous exhibition of tyranny, injustice, cruelty, and oppression.

"Resolved, That our party is the party of the constitution and of the Union, of freedom and of progress; that it is opposed in principles and aims to sectionalism, secession, and disunion, and knows no north, no south, no east, no west, but embraces with equal patriotic love the country, the whole country, one and indivisible.

"Resolved, That the friends of freedom look with entire confidence to the future, in the undoubting faith that their principles will be gratefully recognised by the people, and embodied in the constitutional laws of the land.

"Resolved, That we recommend to our friends in the several States to organise, as soon as possible, by holding State Conventions, appointing State committees, and generally effecting such organisation as will effectually promote the cause of right and humanity."

After the adoption of the resolutions, Mr. Lewis being called on, addressed the Convention in a speech valedictory, of thrilling eloquence and effect.

He was followed by the President, Dr. Lemoyne, of Pennsylvania, in a speech characterised by his usual power of argument and demonstration. He pointed out the great landmarks of liberty, and exhorted the Convention to stick by them, and each to return to his home, resolved to battle in the cause while life lasts.

#### THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS OF BRITISH GUIANA AND OF THE NATIVE CREOLE POPULATION.

A commission was appointed some time ago to inquire into the subjects above indicated, with the object, it would appear, of grounding some application to the Legislature thereon. We are not acquainted with the names of the whole of the commissioners, but amongst them we perceive those of Peter Rose, James Stuart, and Richard Haynes, members of the Court of Policy, and planters withal, and not remarkable for their attachment to the emancipated classes. On the contrary, we believe, that more prejudiced parties could scarcely have been selected. The report presented, in one respect, is exceedingly useful, inasmuch as it enlightens us as to the meaning affixed to the terms "squatting, vagrancy," &c., in the minds of certain parties. It is quite evident, from the language of the report, that however honourably or profitably the peasantry may be employed, and whatever advantages may accrue to themselves from reliance on their own resources, unless they give their time to the sugar estate of a neighbouring planter on the terms which he may choose to propose, they are immediately set down as living in "savage idleness," and classed amongst those who "fish, hunt, and steal," for a subsistence.

We make the following extracts from the report:—

"ABARY.—In the district of Abary, once blooming with fields of corn, the line of road is nearly impassable, and a long succession of formerly cultivated estates presents now a series of 'pestilent swamps,' overrun with bush, and productive of malignant fevers.

"The people scattered in villages along this district support themselves principally on the produce of their own provision grounds, and also by hunting and fishing, while some few occasionally work on neighbouring estates.

"From the Abary to Plantation Friendship, a distance of only thirty miles, there are no less than eleven villages, four hamlets, and twenty-two detached freeholds, containing 1,521 houses, and a population of 6,678

souls, who for the most part, led away by the temptations of an idle life, have withdrawn from their former occupation of resident labourers upon plantations, contributing their assistance only occasionally, in particular descriptions of work, and never in a way to be much depended upon.

"WEST COAST.—The want of labour is severely felt on this coast, which contains five villages and several detached hamlets, with a population of upwards of 1,500 people, pursuing the same idle and unprofitable mode of life as the great majority of their fellow-freeholders throughout the colony.

"Between Leguan and Wakenaam there are upwards of 2,000 people living in villages, for whom the abandoned cane-pieces afford excellent hunting grounds, and the surrounding waters, abounding in fish, an easy means of subsistence.

"ESSEQUEBO COAST.—About one-fourth work at a time on the neighbouring estates, while the other three-fourths sit down, fish, hunt, and steal, both from the estates and one another. Favoured by a genial climate and a boundless fertility of soil, the peasantry of this country seem to care very little beyond satisfying their appetites, and sit down in silent apathy, while plantation after plantation is growing up in bush around them.

"BERBICE.—To such a degree has the system of squatting in comparative idleness prevailed in this division of the colony, that out of the 18,000 people comprising the rural population of the country, upwards of 12,000 are scattered over small freeholds and bush settlements, far up the creeks and rivers, enjoying a state of savage freedom, and contributing in no way to the general welfare of the colony.

"RIVER BERBICE, WEST BANK.—At the present moment there are not more than 600 labourers at work on the few estates still in cultivation, although it is estimated there are upwards of 3,000 people idling in villages of their own. The roads are in many parts several feet under water, and perfect swamps, while in some places the bridges are wanting altogether. In fact, the whole district is fast becoming a total wilderness.

"WEST COAST, BERBICE.—Although the estates working in this quarter have plenty of accommodation for workmen, the people obstinately refuse to tenant the vacant negro yards, and seek in preference the settlements which swarm along this coast, where they cultivate a few ground provisions.

"The Africans are, unhappily, following the example of the Creoles in this district, and buying land on which they settle in contented idleness."

(From the "Guiana Sun.")

"Of all the commissioners' reports we ever read, none ever equalled for unfairness, evil animus, prejudice, and hostility, the report issued under the signatures, Peter Rose, James Stewart, Richard Haynes, and nine other gentlemen commissioners, issued from the Guiana Public Buildings, Georgetown, Demerara, December 28th, 1850, on the state and prospects of British Guiana.

"The incapacity of the commissioners to enter on the inquiry with unbiassed predilections, is manifest at the onset;—men who begin by declaring the termination of the vile apprenticeship 'premature,' are incapable of entertaining one generous sentiment, or of cherishing one kindly feeling towards those whom they thus regard rather as goods and chattels, violently and unjustly wrested from their hands, than as men having as inalienable a right to the fullest possession of liberty as themselves. And so we find it. For, from the beginning of their report to the end thereof, the most sweeping charges, the most contemptuous references, the most unfounded and disgraceful insinuations, and worse, are flung at coloured freeholders, negro rent-holders, village settlers, and Creole labourers, without justice or mercy, without discrimination or care, like Samson's foxes scattered among the Philistines' standing corn, with flaming firebrands. Yet, with all this, in spite of their own determination that nothing favourable shall appear in behalf of the emancipated, they have unwittingly borne an amount of evidence in their favour that happily neutralises much of the evil designed, and helps the discerning to perceive how much to the honour of the labouring classes impartial commissioners might have brought to view.

"Whoever shall attempt to show that the entire people are as immaculate as these commissioners have endeavoured to represent them in a state of 'savage freedom,' and surrounded with 'savage bush,' would be as 'savagely' unjust as the commissioners themselves. But we think we are in a capacity to show, in due time, that whatever real cause of complaint exists in relation to the Creole population, is mainly attributable to the 'savage' treatment they have met with from their former taskmasters, the 'savage' legislation with which they have had to cope, and the 'savage' determination manifested to prevent them, if possible, from rising in the scale of humanised society—still but too marked in the 'savage' disappointment evinced, because many of them, notwithstanding all, have been able to attain to the proud position of freeholders, rent-holders of plantations, proprietors of estates, and extensive cultivators of the soil, free and independently of those who now long to create laws for their reduction to the situation of serfs.



"But of the justice meted out to those idle natives of Guiana, let the intelligent reader judge. As there is not a single word of commendation for any 'native,' throughout the whole report, of course we can bring forth nothing except the undersigned marks in their favour, couched in terms of sore complaint. And we think it is but fair that the 'natives,' the 'freeholders,' 'negro farmers,' and 'villagers' luxuriating in 'savage freedom,' and all other our dignified 'Creole population' should know what is written of them—and that this writing has been called for in the Parliament House of Commons of England, and of course will be duly exalted, in proof that the coloured race ought not to be entrusted with political, any more than it was wise, or prudent, or even kind, to grant them their personal liberty."

(From the "West Indian.")

In the report from which these extracts are taken, it would appear that the abandonment of large properties is attributed to the Creole population. There is in this little truth. The commissioners, and all acquainted with the colony, well know that the extension of the sugar plantations beyond undue limits, the clearing of new land to a ruinous extent, and the want of capital—to say nothing of the insane efforts to thwart the local Government and the Imperial Parliament, which characterised the colonists of Guiana at the period of the emancipation—have led to the abandonment, year by year, of properties which once yielded good returns. The cry of ruin was got up there very early, and those who raised it are yet resolved, *per fas aut nefas*, to verify that cry. Continual repetition of it has made the authors of the cry believe it, and others, too, having the word incessantly dinning in their ears, come to receive the *echo* for the thing itself, and it will not be *their* fault if British Guiana be not ruined indeed.

It is admitted by the commissioners that for some time after the emancipation, up to 1845, large purchases were made, by the labouring classes, of the merchandise imported into the colony, and of many of the luxuries of life; but they say that within the last three or four years the labourers confine their purchases to the very few and indispensable articles of clothing, and to necessary food. There is no wonder that they do, when one thinks of the excessive duties which were levied, till within the present year, on all imported articles. It is a fact, that the tariff of Demerara was the highest of all these colonies, and what with taxes and licenses, it was almost impossible for a man to make an honest livelihood, except by locating himself and working as a labourer on an estate. The worst of it was, these taxes were imposed to defray the expense of the immigration schemes patronised by the Legislature. The people came to discover that they were the payers of these burthensome duties, and they resorted to the provision grounds, and the rivers and creeks of the colony, for the food which had been procured from the stores and shops in Georgetown and the rural districts. Were the law-makers of Guiana wise, they would learn that selfish legislation must sooner or later defeat itself. In political economy, as in moral, "honesty is the best policy," and the disregard of the maxim there, is now being visited with its consequent penalty. It was only a few days ago we read, in one of the journals, (*The Colonist*), an account of a number of parties having been cited before a justice of the peace by a commissary of taxation (a very *Zaccheus* by nature, if the editor tell true), for the recovery of enormous fines for using fire-arms, or having fire-arms in their possession, contrary to law, and this in a colony where a gun is as necessary as a bed!

"The African," we are told by these gentlemen, "has no desire to better his condition by the sweat of his brow; he is quite content to earn sufficient to satisfy his few and simple wants, and never thinks of amassing money by the fruits of his honest industry." Two simple facts will answer this slander. There are Africans in Guiana, and in all these colonies, who have not only *thought* of amassing money by the fruits of honest industry, but have *actually* acquired property, amassed money, and raised themselves to the highest position which West India society can afford. It is this acquisition of property of which the pro-slavery planters of Guiana are so jealous, and to obstruct which, they have invented ingenious devices, which in many cases have been thwarted. And if it were true, why are such efforts made to increase the number of Africans in the colony? Why is ordinance after ordinance enacted, to promote immigration from Africa? Why is an agent employed and maintained in Africa, to further emigration from that place? If the money that has been expended on immigration had been paid to the people in wages, or expended in promoting their best temporal and eternal interests, the condition of all parties would this day have been entirely different. They have sowed the wind—they are reaping the whirlwind.

#### THE PROSPECTS OF BRITISH GUIANA AS A SUGAR-GROWING COLONY.

The following is taken from the *Royal Gazette* of 11th Sept. last, and formed part of the "Monthly Review:"—We are glad to state, that the crops of most estates are being rapidly taken off, and that all is business and activity about the boiling houses. Notwithstanding the rather downward tendency of the British sugar markets, as reported by advices received by

the present mail, prices of produce in the colony still remain firm. In truth, our mercantile men resident in the colony are as well able to take a long-sighted view of the prospective state of the sugar trade as any body of men, perhaps, on the other side of the Atlantic. We, who are in the colony, and see the difficulties with which the growers of sugar have to contend, are under no apprehension that any great increase of the article can, in the present position of the world, be expected from the principal sources of supply. On the other hand, we should not be at all astonished at a very great decrease taking place with startling suddenness from those quarters. As far as we are concerned, we are, happily, under no alarm. Under God's blessing, the British West Indies are safe. Capital, for the moment, may be more profitably invested elsewhere in the cultivation of the sugar cane; but we defy any man to show us where it can be invested more safely. The two great sources of supply, at present, are Brazil and Cuba. But, as sugar-producing countries, the position of both, dazzling for the moment, is eminently unsatisfactory. Their sky overhead may be clear, but there are clouds already lowering in their horizon, while the roll of distant thunder falls on the ear. With all their slavery and all their crops, the British West Indies would not change places with them for any consideration. In Brazil, the slave-trade has already been abolished by the Chamber of Deputies; and the public opinion of Brazil has ratified the decree of its Legislature. But without the slave-trade, the sugar production of Brazil cannot be kept up at its present high-pressure rate, any more than the speed of a locomotive can be maintained without a constant supply of steam. Then as to Cuba, what sane man would guarantee its existence, in its present condition of the greatest sugar-producing colony of the world, for a twelvemonth together? Cuba resembles a barrel of gunpowder exposed in a place where an accident may ignite it in a moment. Thank God! Great Britain has nothing to do with the crimes of which that fine island is at present the theatre, and must, it is to be feared, eventually prove the victim. Piracy, annexation, civil war, are not those calm and safe conditions on which a tropical country, fed by slave labour, can long maintain its mercantile and agricultural supremacy. Political agitation in the last century laid the French colony of St. Domingo in ashes; and it is easy to see that political agitation in the present, if carried on—no matter how, or by whom—will do the same for Cuba. A more miserable delusion never entered into the brain of man, than to suppose that in the present age we can go back to the heathen days of the old Romans, when a handful of republicans could keep the great mass of their fellow-beings in abject slavery. The monstrous anomaly of free institutions for the few, and chains and stripes for the many, in Cuba, is too nauseous and hideous an imposition on the common sense of mankind to be long tolerated, under any pretexts, in the present age.

On the whole, therefore, we come to the comfortable conclusion, very prevalent in this community, that neither of our neighbours, Cuba or Brazil, is to be envied at this moment; and that, compared with those neighbours, the star of the British West Indies is in the ascendent.

#### COOLIE AND CHINESE IMMIGRATION TO BRITISH GUIANA.

(From the "Royal Gazette.")

If we may judge from the present signs of the times, the planters of British Guiana may henceforth look upon Coolie immigration as one of the vanished visions of the past. For many months we have had a gentleman of acknowledged talents, and of great local experience as a resident and a planter in this colony, as our immigration agent at Calcutta. So far, however, from his mission having been productive of an increase in the exportation of Coolie labourers to this port, it seems to have been attended with a directly contrary effect. Since his removal to Calcutta, he has sent to us no more than a few dozens of the dusky husbandmen of India; and, as to the future, very few indeed, we suspect, will be the dozens despatched by him from the same populous hive of human beings. No doubt, we have to thank for this barren result partly ourselves, and partly the illustrious Directors of the East India Company. When it was proposed, in the course of last year, on the loan being negotiated with the Imperial Government, that about nineteen-twentieths of the amount should be applied to the renewal of Coolie immigration, so loud and general was the burst of disapprobation raised throughout the colony at that mode of getting rid of the greater part of a loan, for the redemption of which we and our posterity were to be mortgaged, that it is but natural to conclude that the voice of public opinion found its way across the water, and exercised a chilling and benumbing influence on the progress of a species of immigration, the valueless character of which is best attested by the state of our crops and the value of our estates now, as compared with those periods prior to the commencement of our Coolie immigration "schemes"—schemes which have cost the colony millions of dollars, and ended, so far as prosperity is concerned, in mere smoke. And that the East India Company Directors should have thrown every obstacle in the way of their subjects leaving India, is only in unison with their general policy, which is neither to find employment themselves for their people, nor to allow others to do so.



Deservedly unpopular as was Coolie immigration, Chinese immigration, which seems now to be proposed as the substitute for it, will prove much more so, should the burthen of removing the subjects of the Celestial Empire to these shores be thrown on the shoulders of the public. Individual proprietors, spending their own private money, can, of course, do as they please; but we must strongly protest against the patient community of this colony, that already bears so much, being saddled with any "Chinese experiment" that may be in embryo in the ingenious brains of immigration-mongers. Considering that the great objection to Coolie immigration was its costliness, arising from the distance of the places whence the people were brought, and considering that as China is more distant from us than India, the expense of bringing Chinese here will be heavier than that even of bringing Coolies, it is evident that if Coolie immigration was objectionable, Chinese must be still more so. Strenuously, therefore, as we felt it our duty to oppose (and as the result shows, not unsuccessfully) the project of reviving Coolie immigration last year, we shall feel still more bound in the present, from a feeling of justice to the public, whose sentiments we are conscious of expressing, to denounce any scheme that may be on foot to pour hordes of Chinese into this colony at the public expense. Whether there is or is not any such scheme in agitation, we are not in a position to say, nor have we, we must candidly confess, any better means of judging than the rest of our fellow-colonists. All we know on the subject is, what has already appeared in the public newspapers, that at the last meeting of the Court of Policy, on the 25th ultimo, the Honourable Peter Rose is reported to have "handed in the report of the Immigration Committee on the letter of Dr. Bowring, relative to Chinese immigration;" and that the "report," which was "decidedly favourable to the project," was "adopted." What, however, may have been the specific nature of the "report," or what the details of the "letter" from "Dr. Bowring," is a Chinese mystery to us and the public. Equally involved in mystery are the questions that naturally suggest themselves to the mind on reading this statement, what Dr. Bowring has got to do with this colony? How did he come to write any "letter" at all? Why should he have so deeply interested himself in our affairs? What does he know about China and the Chinese in general? And what, in particular, respecting their adaptability to the climate and peculiar wants of the colony?

However, in the meantime, until the nature of the report of the Immigration Committee is more clearly ascertained, we shall not assume that the letter of Dr. Bowring is based on the assumption that the public money is to pay for the importations of the Chinese which he recommends; but we shall assume it to be possible that the learned Doctor has proceeded on the understanding that private proprietors of estates who want Chinese are to make their bargains with those people, and introduce them wholly and solely at their own cost. In that event, we shall of course have no more to say against his letter, than against the introduction into Lima, San Francisco, or Cuba, of cargoes of Chinese labourers, imported by private parties, and indentured to them for a certain term of years. On this footing alone, is Chinese or Coolie immigration desirable for the future, so far as British Guiana is concerned. Whatever surplus funds the colony may hereafter possess, can very well be expended on the internal improvement of the colony, and for the benefit of the inhabitants at large.

#### TRINIDAD.—IMMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED STATES, AND INDIA.

At a meeting of the Council, held on the 1st of August last, the following documents were presented, which contain matters of considerable interest:—

##### IMMIGRATION FROM THE UNITED STATES.

A despatch from the Secretary of State was read, with regard to the ordinance passed on the 6th May last, and entitled, "An ordinance for encouraging the introduction into this colony of free black and coloured immigrants from the United States of America, and the British North American provinces." Earl Grey states that he approves of the ordinance in every respect, with the exception of the clause which has reference to the naturalisation of American immigrants arriving in the colony, and as regards which, he submits some amendments for the consideration of the Council.

The Colonial Secretary laid on the table several voluminous communications from Mr. Pollard, the agent sent on for facilitating the immigration of free coloured persons from the United States.

##### INDIAN IMMIGRATION.

A letter from Mr. White, joint Indian immigration agent for British Guiana and Trinidad, to his Excellency Lord Harris, and covering copies of two very interesting communications from Mr. White to Governor Barkly, was read. The first was dated 17th March last, and gave a detailed account of the results of a visit which Mr. White had made to the Dhangah, or Cole country, to Benares, and the whole country northward and westward of Calcutta, with a view of ascertaining, from personal inquiry and inspection, the characters of the different races of

people inhabiting those countries, and the general prospect of a continued immigration to the West Indies. Mr. White gives a very favourable account of the Dhangahs, Coles, Gourds, Hos, Khoms, Mandas, and Orams—and particularly of the Dhangahs and Coles, who eat all kinds of food freely, have no prejudice of caste, and would, in his opinion, freely intermarry with the negroes of the West Indies, and settle among them. He describes them as a less powerful race of people than the people of Benares and some other districts; but then these latter are all either Hindoos or Mussulmen, with a large number of holidays, on which they are very strict in abstaining from any work; besides, Hindoos emigrating from their place of birth lose caste, and the greater part of their savings in a foreign country go to obtain their re-admission to their former privileges. The Calcutta people, he states, eat rice only, and are inferior in muscular power to the Dhangahs, Coles, &c., as well as to those of Benares, and are inveterate liars, while the Dhangahs and Coles are noted for their strict adherence to truth. Women and children, he says, will not immigrate, except in special cases—as where there are family feuds. He thinks that the extensive immigration which has taken place within the last few years, from India to the Mauritius, has done much good to the people in India, in weakening their attachment to caste. Having detailed the experiences of his journey, Mr. White proceeds to other matters. He considers, as immigration to the West Indies is practically limited to two months, immigration to Mauritius ought to be stopped during these two months, at least as far as Government agency is concerned, so as to give a fairer chance to the West Indies. Mr. White considers that with some slight additional expense for warm clothing for the Coolies, in rounding the Cape, immigration to the West Indies might well be carried on at all seasons of the year. Finally, Mr. White considers that the quantity of labour required both by the Mauritius and the West Indies sinks into nothing when compared with the immense quantity of surplus labour in India, and that, if the immigration be conducted properly, a supply of labour more than sufficient for both parties may be obtained.

Mr. White's second communication to Governor Barkly is dated Calcutta, 28th of April; and after mentioning his proximate departure for China, Mr. White proceeds into divers details with respect to the cost of immigration at Calcutta. Mr. White says, in conclusion, that whilst it is gratifying to him to hear that the Indian immigrants now in the West Indies are so well satisfied with their condition as to be willing to enter into arrangements to remain for a further period of service, still it is necessary that there should be a return of a certain number of immigrants, sufficient to assure the people in India with their own tongues of their good treatment in the West Indies, and of the advantages these colonies hold out to immigrants from India.

The Colonial Secretary stated to the Board that Mr. Caird had instructions from the Secretary of State that shipping had been taken up for Trinidad for 1,000 Coolies for 1852.

Mr. Rennie—It was satisfactory to find that active measures had at last been taken for the promotion of immigration, and that tonnage had been engaged for 1,000 Coolies. From the delay which had occurred since this Board passed a resolution for the introduction of 1,000 Coolies this year, and 1,000 for next year, the community entertained serious fears of great supineness on the part of some department to immigration. There were, at that moment, general important details connected with this subject, requiring his Excellency's immediate consideration. Amongst these he (Mr. R.) would mention that the Superintendent of Immigrants is now in a difficulty in respect to Coolies here who have served some few months beyond their original term of five years; they were willing to have accepted the fresh bounty to renew a term of service, provided they were either paid proportionately for the extra months they had been here over five years, or that their new contract should commence from the expiration of the first. This seemed only fair and reasonable, and Lord Harris had approved of it before he left; but the Attorney-General found that, with the law as it exists, this could not be carried out; the consequence is, that about 100 Coolies so circumstanced, he (Mr. R.) was informed, had determined to return. He felt satisfied that the Board would alter the law in any way that was required, to allow this extra time to the Coolies.

##### THE CROPS.

Our readers will find in the following a return of all produce shipped from this colony from 1st January, 1851, to date. They will see that up to the present day there have been already shipped this year 26,994 hhds. of sugar, besides tierces and barrels, equivalent to 3,246 hhds. more, making in all 30,240 hhds; add to this, 800 hhds. afloat in the vessels lying at the different shipping places, and this makes the crop of 1851 equal to 31,000 hhds.,—exceeding the crop of 1849, (which was, reckoning tierces and barrels, 26,076 hhds.,) by 5,000 hhds., and the crop of 1849, (which was equivalent to 30,579 hhds.,) by 500 hhds., thus making the present crop *the largest ever shipped from the colony*. True, in 1849, there were 30,500 hhds. shipped, independent of tierces and barrels, but the hhds. of that day were a very poor affair, seldom weighing gross over 1,600 lbs.



As regards cocon, the yield of this year's crop is equally satisfactory. There are already 3,114,756 lbs. to put against the 4,728,186 lbs. of last year, whilst the greater part of the June crop has yet to be shipped; and, although it is a very short crop indeed, it will swell the total, at the end of the year, far beyond the yield of last year. With respect to coffee there appears to be a very great falling off; but of the apparently larger crops of 1844 and 1846, three-fourths were smuggled in from the Spanish Main, and passed off as Trinidad coffee. There can be no doubt, however, that the very limited number of coffee plantations in this colony are yearly decreasing, in consequence of the reduction in prices in the home market.

For the information of readers not very much *au fait* as to the productions of this colony, we may notice that the cotton and indigo mentioned in the return are both the produce of the adjacent coast of Cumana, brought here for sale to purchasers who re-ship it to the best market.

We are glad to see a new item of export figuring for the years 1850 and 1851, under the head Asphaltum. Trinidad is considerably the debtor of the gallant Earl of Dundonald, for his exertions in bringing this natural product of the colony into general notice.

It may be as well—seeing the very large quantity of sugar manufactured—to anticipate and guard against the idea that labour must be plentiful, seeing that so large a crop has been made. The fact is, that in a few favoured localities labour is plentiful, and the proprietors of the neighbourhood have availed themselves of the circumstance to increase very considerably their cultivations; but, generally speaking, labour, both on sugar and cocoa estates, was never more difficult to be got, and prices are rapidly rising again.

#### DEBATE IN THE BRAZILIAN LEGISLATURE.

The following debate on the question of placing the Imperial flag under the protection of another nation, is taken from the *Rio de Janeiro Jornal de Comercio*, of the 6th of September last. The reason assigned for this course is the undue interference of the British cruisers with the coasting trade. In the course of the debate, various expressions were made of the sincerity of the Brazilian Government in its efforts to suppress the trade, which clothes the discussion with interest. It is only right to say, that the Brazilian Government has given some evidence of sincerity in capturing vessels engaged in the traffic. The Sovereign also, in a late message, urged perseverance in putting an end to the trade.

The following are the addresses delivered.

Sr. Rodrigues Torres (Minister of Finance) spoke as follows:—I understand, Mr. President, and the Cabinet likewise understands, that the diplomatic means for the settlement of the questions to which the honourable member has alluded, are not exhausted. Indeed, I feel confident that reason and justice will ultimately triumph over wrong and iniquity, and that the Government of so enlightened and powerful a nation as England will finally acknowledge that it is at least inglorious to commit aggressions on, and to outrage the rights, sovereignty, and independence of another country, which has been guilty of no offence to her. But is the adoption of the article now in discussion indispensable or not? Gentlemen, in one of the sittings of last month, when I was present at the debate on the budget, in the Chamber of Deputies, one of the members thought fit to censure the Government for not providing means for protecting the national flag and Brazilian property against the violence of the British cruisers. In reply to that censure, I said that the Government had done all on its part to protect the interests of Brazil; that it had reclaimed, and continues to remonstrate, with all the energy derived from a consciousness of duty, against those outrages, and that it entertained hopes that the British Government would put a stop to these acts of violence; but that in the unhappy event of its not so doing, and as a last resource (should it be found that there remain no other means of protecting the property of Brazilian citizens, in its transmission from one province to another of the empire), the Government is firmly resolved to allow the coasting trade to be placed under the protection of some nation, whose flag could preserve that property from the illegal seizure and destruction by fire to which it is exposed. I said so, first, because we had then formed, and still intend to abide by, that resolution; secondly, because the Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated the same in a note addressed to the British legation at this Court; and, thirdly, because the Customs' regulations—that is, a law of our country—authorised us, if not by its letter, at least by its spirit, to take that precaution. Let it not be understood, then, that the Government considers that the object intended by Article 44, is to compel the British Government to stay the acts of violence committed by its cruisers; its aim is to afford more security and protection to the property of Brazilian subjects exposed to those aggressions, when such security is unobtainable by any other means, and when we find that the Government of Great Britain cannot be brought to acknowledge and put an end to the unjust proceedings it has carried on towards Brazil.

The discussion was resumed on the 7th of September, when

Sr. Paulino, Minister for Foreign Affairs, spoke—Mr. President, I am about to say a few words on the subject now in discussion. No one is more convinced than myself, that an amicable solution of these questions is the only expedient, not to say the only possible course. The noble senator for Bahia, however, impugns the article chiefly on two grounds—first, he views it as a threat; and secondly, he thinks it will prevent the two Governments from deciding similar questions by common consent. The noble senator tried to prove that this article contained a threat.

Sr. Montezuma—I placed it in doubt.

Sr. Paulino—Well, the noble senator doubts; but if he is in doubt, it is because he thinks the article can present obstacles—that it contains a threat. As a proof, the noble senator referred, first, to an example, which was that of the protest of 22nd October, 1845, entered against Lord Aberdeen's bill. This protest, made by one of our noble colleagues, Sr. Limpo de Abreu, is proof of the contrary. If the noble senator had consulted that protest, he would find that it concludes by declaring that, notwithstanding the existence of the bill, the Imperial Government was always ready to regulate the measures for putting an end to the slave-trade, in accordance with arrangements and conventions. Moreover, Mr. President, there is not the slightest analogy between the bill of 1845 and the article in question. For what was the effect of the bill? It rendered the property of Brazilians subject to English law, and to the judgments of a foreign tribunal; consequently, it contained a manifest violation of our rights. Let the noble senator suppose that, apart from the actual circumstances, we thought fit to concede the right of carrying on the coasting trade to the citizens of the United States, for instance, or to any other nation, could others consider themselves offended thereby, or could they deem it an obstacle to any treaties we might be inclined to conclude with them? Can it be understood as a threat? No one would say so. But the noble senator asserted, moreover, that this article contains a threat. Gentlemen, to threaten, I think, means to cause fear by the intimation of a chastisement, injury, or future danger. This is the strict signification and extent of the word threat. Nobody will believe that it can be the intention, and within the scope of the article, to intimate chastisement, injury, or future danger, for the purpose of terrifying England. The article would be ridiculous. It inflicts no injury, as she is in no way concerned in our coasting trade. The noble senator for Minas observes, that the article neither excludes nor indicates any nation in particular. Then, if we are not creating mischief by this article, if we inflict no chastisement, if we do not violate the rights of third parties, how can the article be regarded as a threat? Have we not a right to dispose of what belongs to us? The article has had an importance given to it which it does not really possess. The noble senator on my side is well aware that the freights in the coasting trade are more lucrative than those on longer voyages. Passing on to prove that European nations ought to sympathise with Brazil, which could not be accused of any longer sanctioning the slave-trade, his Excellency Sr. Paulino said, "Now tell me, noble senator, are the circumstances the same at this day, when the Queen of England in her speech from the throne declares to Parliament, that the Brazilian Government had adopted measures for the suppression of the slave-trade, and hopes they will be efficacious? When Lord Palmerston himself declares in the English Parliament that the Imperial Government has employed vigilance and due force to put an end to the traffic? When Lord John Russell, not long ago, made the same declaration, enumerating the captures effected by Brazilian cruisers? At this day, when the French press, the English press, and even some of the United States journals, acknowledge and proclaim that there exists, on the part of Brazil, a sincere intention of putting an end to the slave-trade? Then, in the presence of what I have referred to, can it be affirmed that, when reduced to the last extremity, and compelled to adopt the measure in discussion, it will encounter the same opposition as did the protest of Oct. 22, 1845. Moreover, in the event of our having to adopt this measure, we would select a flag unstained by this traffic. I will further remark, that the Government has not relaxed, nor will it relax, in the measures it deems necessary for the total extinction of the slave-trade. I will even say, that the Imperial Government acknowledges that it is most expedient to act in conjunction with the British Government in this suppression. It is ready to come to an understanding for that purpose. It requires, nevertheless, that the independence of our territories be respected, and that no foreign nation come and exercise a jurisdiction in the ports and rivers of the empire, and on her seas. The moment the British Government admits this basis, we are ready to unite with it in the suppression of the slave-trade. I have stated this, many times, to her Britannic Majesty's Minister."

#### THE KROO PEOPLE—THEIR COUNTRY AND THEIR CONDITION.

Considerable attention has been directed, from time to time, to the condition of these people, especially in connexion with their emigration to the West Indies. The information we possess, however, although it had led us to the certain conclusion that they were held in a state of vassalage, was nevertheless incomplete. The following details are from the pen of the Rev. M. Connelly, an American missionary:—



Some three generations back—say, two hundred or two hundred and fifty years—some of the bush people, between two and three hundred miles in the interior, a people called *Claho*, came to the beach (several of these men having followed the Poor river, and learned on the beach the value of salt), and first commenced a settlement at Bassa, and subsequently removed to Little Kroo, very near Settra Kroo. Some of the tribes from the interior, with their several kings, came and united with them, and consolidated themselves under one government, embracing five towns, called Little Kroo, Settra Kroo, Kroo-bar, Nana-Kroo, and King Will's Town. Long ago, in the time of the Portuguese slave-trade, these people assisted slave vessels; and there is said by them to have been a compact or agreement between them and the Portuguese and other slave-traders, that they should be exempt from slavery, and should be known by a black mark upon the forehead and nose, which is still universal among them, as well as their freedom from slavery; and the name, Kroomen, is said to be but a corruption of the title of Crewmen, because of their general employment among vessels visiting the African coast. Among the people polygamy exists extensively, and slavery to some extent—though these slaves are bought only from other tribes, and are never sold to foreigners, or to any persons out of their own tribe. Their houses are built of a square form, and of sticks covered with bamboo plaited, and the roof of leaf-thatch; the floor is of plaited bamboo, raised eighteen inches on sticks, and the door and the loft above are not sufficiently high to permit an adult to enter standing. There are generally three rooms in each house, separated by partitions of plaited bamboo. The fire-place is made principally of hard clay, near one corner of the house, where is the only window, which serves both to admit light and open a passage for the smoke. The smoke penetrates the interstices of the loft above, and preserves the rice, which would otherwise be destroyed by insects.

Their furniture consists mostly of a few cooking utensils; their floor answers for bed, table and chairs, and their pillow is a round stick of wood. Their dress is a piece of cloth wrapped about the loins. Their devotions are a superstitious gazing on the new moon, and a feast on the first day of the moon, among the headmen, and devotional walks in a thicket called the *devil's bush*. They depend on amulets and greaves for protection and defence. The Kroo people consider death and sickness as caused by witchcraft, and they employ and rely upon the doctors to point out the person who has by witchcraft caused these evils. The person who is designated as guilty of the crime of witchcraft is arrested by the soldier king, and condemned to the ordeal of sassy-wood. The bark of the sassy-wood is powerfully narcotic, and a strong decoction of this the person condemned is forced to drink; and after he has drunk it, he walks to and fro, exclaiming, "Am I a witch?" "Am I a witch?" while one of his executioners walks behind him, replying, "You are a witch; you are a witch;" and this continues till he either throws off from his stomach the poison, when he is pronounced innocent, or it operates as a cathartic, when he is declared guilty, and compelled to take more of the decoction, and is subjected to other cruelties which cause his speedy death. When pronounced innocent, there is great joy and triumph among the friends of the accused, who march through the town, dancing, singing, and firing guns, and the conjuror resigns his fee to those who employed him. We presume that thousands of the Africans perish by this sassy-wood superstition annually.

The government, in the tribes which united to form the Kroo people, was probably at first patriarchal, but at present it is a self-perpetuating oligarchy, though one of the headmen has the title of king, and another that of governor. The headmen or aristocracy are about a dozen or fifteen, and wear as a badge of authority an iron ring about the leg. The king has his office hereditarily, and the governor's office is secured to his family for past services rendered by his ancestors in conquering the country. The soldier king is elected for an indefinite time by the headmen, and is general and the officer commanding in war, and arresting and executing those condemned to drink the sassy-wood. This office is desired, as this officer is entitled to a liberal fee for any arrest or service. Besides these officers and their assistants, there are six or eight headmen who are called palaver men, who, with those just mentioned, constitute the general council of the nation. Each tribe uniting to form the Kroo people brought its own king, and the families of these come to the office of king in succession. The laws of the Kroo people are a body of customs, handed down by tradition from past generations, interpreted and enforced by the general council, who also enact occasional special laws, which are generally suggested or dictated by the doctor or conjuror. The laws are imperfect, inconsistent, and unfair. If one man loses anything, and accuses another of having stolen it, the accused is required to drink sassy-wood to prove his innocence.

The leading motives of the Kroo people are sensuality and vanity. The men employed by vessels on the coast, and by traders as factors on shore,

are industrious, but on the plantations and in their towns the men are idle, and the women perform most of the labour. The men build the houses and clear the plantations, but the women plant, watch, cultivate, gather, and beat the rice, and also cut and bring the wood, and perform all the labour about the houses. The women seldom eat with the men, except a man's head or favourite wife, who superintends the cooking, and first tastes the food before he partakes. The system of polygamy gives rise to jealousies and quarrels among the women. All lawful wives are purchased, when children, and when they arrive at a suitable age are taken to their husbands."

The Kroo women—especially those who are old and incapable of other labour—are constantly and industriously engaged in making salt, by boiling down sea-water; and this is a principal article of trade with the interior tribes. The leading men of families have young men (though these may be thirty or forty years old), who are under their counsel and authority, as wards under guardians. These young men go abroad to different parts of the coast, from Sierra Leone to Cape Coast, or even to Fernando Po—each group of ten or a dozen choosing one as a leader, who makes engagements for them; and after securing as much money for them as possible by labour, from six months to two or three years, they return home, when the property thus acquired is distributed among the families of these young men, according to the discretion of the guardian, who is expected to buy a wife for each of these youths whenever he deems their labours sufficient to merit one. A man's importance among the Kroos depends much upon the number of his wives and bullocks—these being the chief property of the country.

The Presbyterian mission among the Kroos is about eight years old. In connexion with the mission there has always been a boarding-school, where children were fed, clothed, and taught gratuitously. For three years this school averaged about sixty scholars; but for the last five years it has been on the decline, having, on an average, about twenty-five. In this school there have been about three hundred children taught to read intelligibly, many to write, and all instructed in the doctrines of the Christian religion; a few have studied some of the sciences, and many more have only learned to spell, while some could only be kept in school to get a knowledge of the alphabet.

In regard to the influence of the mission, we are assured that it has exerted a powerful influence to restrain from vice, and cause those who cherished to seek to hide it; but we are not sure that any have become truly pious, though we trust the seed of Divine Truth, planted among the Kroos by this mission, will finally show great and beneficial results.

### Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—EXPULSION OF MISSIONARIES.—Alfred Bartlett, of Grayson County, Va., having been lately murdered by negroes, and John Clements dangerously wounded, the citizens of Wythe Co. held a meeting, and resolved to expel from south-western Virginia all pretended missionaries hailing from free States who have preached abolition doctrines.

The Constitution of the United States expressly declares, (Art iv. sect 2.) that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The people of the slave States are continually violating this important provision of our fundamental law with impunity. The champions of the Union see in their conduct no danger, and nothing against which remonstrances should be uttered.

Congress can have no duty higher than to see that the Constitution is carried out in its spirit and its letter. If black men are below the notice of our legislators, let them at least see that white men, citizens of the United States, enjoy the rights which they inherit.

If any class of men should be free from assault, those who labour without any remunerative salary for the salvation of their fellows are that class. But Virginia cannot contain them. The diffusion of education and of the knowledge of the Gospel cannot be tolerated within her borders. They must be checked. In the endeavour to check them, the Constitution of the Union shall afford no hindrance to the despotic will of a "meeting" of Virginians.—*Oneida Herald*.

GERMAN COLONY IN BRAZIL.—There is a colony of 12,000 Germans at San Leopold, in the south of Brazil. They are neutral in the present contest with Buenos Ayres. Their fixed idea, or rather their dream, is of a German Republic from Rio Pardo to Santa Catharina. They have only 400 slaves. All are workers, and in this they are far superior to the natives, the latter being dependant on slavery. Without slaves the Portuguese Brazilian is helpless, and the abolition of slavery would be the downfall of the empire. Thus the Germans constantly become more powerful, while the Portuguese retrograde, or at best, remain stationary. These German-Saxons will yet play an important part in the history of that great and richly-endowed region.